Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-143
Wednesday
25 July 1990

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FBIS-EEU-90-143 *25 July 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

National Assembly Fails To Elect New President 1
No Majority in First Round *[BTA]* 1
Second Round Also Fails *[BTA]* 1
National Assembly Convenes; Candidates Prepare 1
Text of Session Agenda *[DUMA 20 Jul]* 1
Presidential Hopefuls Questioned *[BTA]* 2
Election Statements Noted *[BTA]* 2
Candiates Reportedly Not Optimistic *[BTA]* 2
Assembly Debates Council's Public Order Decree *[BTA]* 3
Opposition Deputies Create Parliamentary Group *[DEMOKRATSIYA 16 Jul]* 3
BSP Finance-Auditing Commission Meeting *[DUMA 14 Jul]* 3
Silistra Socialists Condemn Former Local Leaders *[DUMA 23 Jul]* 4
French Car Assembly, Supply Agreement Signed *[BTA]* 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

USSR's Gerasimov Arrives for Official Visit 5
Views United Germany, European Trends *[CTK]* 5
Assesses NATO's Military Character *[Prague TV]* 5
Possible Gorbachev Visit to Prague *[Prague Radio]* 5
Gerasimov Grants Interview *[Prague TV]* 6
Hungary Intervention 'Impermissible' *[Budapest Radio]* 7
Talks Held With Austria on Nuclear Plant *[CTK]* 7
Hurd News Conference; Thatcher To Visit in Sep *[Prague Radio]* 7
Dubcek, Hurd Discuss Situation in Country *[CTK]* 8
Vales, Hurd View Economy, Trade *[CTK]* 8
Hurd Grants Interview *[Prague TV]* 8
Meets Czech Official *[CTK]* 9
Visits Bratislava, Holds Talks *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Hungarian Proposal for Danube Dam 'Bad Joke' *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 20 Jul]* 9
CTK on Foreign Commercial Agencies Establishment 10
Havel Interviewed Prior to Salzburg Visit *[Prague Radio]* 10
Fears Expressed of Return to 'Cabinet Policy' *[Hvizdala in MLADA FRONTA 19 Jul]* 10
Havel Views Developments in CSFR Economy *[Vienna PROFIL 23 Jul]* 11
Adamec Finds Havel's Pardon 'Just' *[RUDE PRAVO 19 Jul]* 12
Adviser Says Finance Minister Should Resign *[SMENA 19 Jul]* 12
Nuclear Safety Chairman Interviewed on Bohunice *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 21 Jul]* 12
Bohunice Director Discusses Plant's Safety *[NARODNA OBRODA 21 Jul]* 13
Meciar on Nuclear Plant, Hungarian Intelligence *[CTK]* 13
General Director Outlines Uranium Industry Plans *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 19 Jul]* 13
Hard Currency Earnings Hit by Fuel Exports Ban *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 23 Jul]* 14
Oil Shortage Compels Army Austerity Measures *[Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Jul]* 14
Army Official Views New Military Doctrine *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 19 Jul]* 14
Team To Make Army Professional Established *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 19 Jul]* 15
Call for New Secret Service Legalization *[Cibula in NARODNA OBRODA 21 Jul]* 15
Kucera on Civic Forum, CPCZ Future *[RUDE PRAVO 18 Jul]* 16
Results, Recommendations of CPSL Plenum *[Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Jul]* 16
Slovak Information, Mass Media Council Appointed *[NARODNA OBRODA 18 Jul]* 17
Pithart on Czech Economic Reform, Foreign Ties *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 18 Jul]* 18

More on Communique *[PAP]* 45
Kiszczak Views Agriculture Ministry Situation *[Warsaw Radio]* 46
New Agricultural Political Group *[Warsaw TV]* 46
Seminar Examines New Role for Armed Forces *[PAP]* 46
Screening of Former Secret Police Staff *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 18 Jul]* 47
Internal Affairs Ministry Personnel Changes *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 20 Jul]* 47
Military Police To Replace Investigation Division *[PAP]* 47
Military Police Document Destruction Viewed *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Miners Call for 'Decisive Negotiations' *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Justice Ministry To Investigate Parliament Scam *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
KERM Deliberates on Energy Industry *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Solidarity Representatives May Establish Network *[PAP]* 48
Solidarity National Commission Holds Meeting *[PAP]* 49
Survey on 22 Jul National Holiday Released *[TRYBUNA 19 Jul]* 49
Jaruzelski, Deputies Discuss Children's Rights *[PAP]* 50

ROMANIA

Deputies Assembly Discusses Bills, National Day *[ROMPRES]* 51
'Autonomous' Company Bill Debated *[ROMPRES]* 51
Senate Proposes 1 Dec as New National Day *[ROMPRES]* 51
'Moving Moment,' 'Emotional Meaning' *[ROMPRES]* 52
Session Concludes; To Resume 25 Jul *[ROMPRES]* 52
Brucan on 'Military Plot' Against Ceausescu *[ROMPRES]* 52
Interior Ministry Statement on Gendarmerie Troops *[Bucharest Radio]* 53
Iliescu Receives National Students' Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 53
Roman Receives, Talks With Fiat Company Official *[ROMPRES]* 53
Trial of Ceausescu's Sister Adjourned *[ROMPRES]* 54
UDMR Statement on Hungarian-Language Tuition *[ROMPRES]* 54
* Joint Action Advocated To 'Save Democracy' *[DREPTATEA 5 Jul]* 54
* Call for 'Credible Opposition' Rejected *[ROMANIA LIBERA 7 Jul]* 55
* Suggested Changes in Government Program *[AZI 10 Jul]* 56
* Conflict With National-Liberal Party Viewed *[ROMANIA LIBERA 10 Jul]* 58
* Visit With Student Leader Munteanu Detailed *[ROMANIA LIBERA 15 Jul]* 59
* 'Tragedy' of Continuing Emigration Described *[DREPTATEA 17 Jul]* 60
* 'Truth,' 'Realism' Needed for Nation's Recovery *[ROMANIA LIBERA 17 Jul]* 61

YUGOSLAVIA

Markovic Tours Provinces, Views Local Issues 63
Economic Efficiency Aim of Tour *[TANJUG]* 63
Republics 'Ready To Stay' Together *[TANJUG]* 63
Gas Price Increases Lamented *[TANJUG]* 63
'Second Best' Harvest, High Prices *[TANJUG]* 63
Amendments 'Will Be Passed' *[TANJUG]* 63
'Ownership Democracy' Necessary *[TANJUG]* 63
FEC Has 'Real' Economic Program *[TANJUG]* 64
Conflict With Kadijevic Denied *[TANJUG]* 64
FEC 'Will Put Everything Right' *[TANJUG]* 64
Macedonian Rights, Talks With Lukanov *[TANJUG]* 64
Kosovo 'Major Social,' 'Political' Problem *[TANJUG]* 64
'Crowds' of Kosovo Serbs Apply for Gun Licenses *[RILINDJA 21 Jul]* 64
Morina Assesses Political Situation in Kosovo *[VJESNIK 22 Jul]* 65
Assembly To Debate Kosovo Assembly's Work *[TANJUG]* 66
KDA To 'Oppose,' 'Resist' Serbian 'Repression' *[RILINDJA 21 Jul]* 66
Kosovo SAWP, LC Presidium Meet on SPS *[TANJUG]* 67
Kosovo National Defense Secretary Reelected *[BORBA 20 Jul]* 68
Slovenia's Kucan Meets With Jovic in Ljubljana 68
Obstacles 'No Longer Exist' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 68
Constitutional Paths 'Exhausted' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 68
Slovene Delegates Decide To Attend Chamber *[TANJUG]* 69

Peterle in Austria: SFRY 'Voluntary Community' *[TANJUG]* 69
Macedonian Officials Discuss Serbian Border *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 13 Jul]* 69
Croatian Party Forms 'Shadow Government' *[TANJUG]* 71
'National Elements' in Socialist Party Viewed *[Bacic in VJESNIK 19 Jul]* 71
Federal Party Committee Congratulates Milosevic *[POLITIKA 19 Jul]* 72
Serbian Socialist Party Officials' Names Issued *[POLITIKA 20 Jul]* 72
Reform of Serbian State Organs, Bodies Planned *[TANJUG]* 72
Montenegro SAWP Wants 'Coalition of the Left' *[TANJUG]* 72
Government To 'Insist' on No Price Increases *[TANJUG]* 73
Envoy Says Disarmament Negotiations 'Lagging' *[TANJUG]* 73
Government To Launch Europe-Wide TV Program *[TANJUG]* 73
Belgrade Students Do Not Want To Go to Pristina *[BORBA 20 Jul]* 73

National Assembly Fails To Elect New President

No Majority in First Round

AU2407195290 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jul (BTA)—None of the candidates for president in Bulgaria gathered the needed majority of two-thirds.

Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] received 217 votes, Dr. Petur Dertliev from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] 130, while Viktor Vulkov from the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] received 36.

The election will have a second round. Kyuranov, Dertliev and Vulkov may participate again if they do not beg to be struck off the list. They may also be new candidates proposed by the parliamentary factions.

Second Round Also Fails

AU2507075890 Sofia BTA in English 0713 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jul (BTA)—In the second round of the elections for a president in Bulgaria which was held late last night none of the candidates gathered the needed majority of two thirds.

The participants in the round were again Chavdar Kyuranov from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], Peter Dertliev from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and Viktor Vulkov from the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union].

National Assembly Convenes; Candidates Prepare

Text of Session Agenda

AU2407073890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jul 90 p 2

["Text" of "agenda of the first session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly" issued in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] 1. Election of a commission to verify [proverka] the elections—mandate commission.

2. Election of a commission to prepare draft regulations for the work of the Grand National Assembly.

3. Election of a provisional commission in charge of dealing with declarations, memoranda, petitions, and other such documents submitted to the National Assembly.

The commission is expected to propose drafts of respective answers to the documents by 24 July 1990. The commission is also expected, within this period, to propose a draft appeal on public order in the country and a draft appeal to the Romanian Parliament related to the ecological situation in Ruse.

4. Proposal to postpone death sentences that have been passed.

5. Election of a chairman (or president of the Republic) in connection with Petur Mladenov's request that his functions should be prematurely suspended, as expressed in his message submitted on 6 July 1990.

6. Hearing of Todor Zhivkov's statement to the Grand National Assembly, immediately following the president's election.

The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly is in charge of making provisions for the implementation of this in cooperation with representatives of the parliamentary groups.

7. Election of a deputy (or vice president) of the Republic.

8. Acceptance of the present government's resignation and assessment of the economic situation, followed by assignment to the government of the task of pursuing its functions until the election of a new government.

Proposal of the president for the election of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

9. Appointment of permanent and provisional Grand National Assembly commissions.

10. Election of Commissions.

In addition to various permanent and temporary commissions, a special commission to clarify the circumstances of Petur Mladenov's resignation will be elected, and provisional temporary commissions on individual subjects will be appointed, such as:

—a commission in charge of National Assembly deputies taking the oath;
—a commission in charge of discussing the question of publicizing secret files on citizens, and others;
—a commission in charge of preparing a draft bill on general political amnesty for crimes committed by Bulgarian citizens abroad.

11. Examination of the application on relieving Pavel Pisarev from the post of Television Committee chairman and debates on the management of Bulgarian Radio and Television.

12. Release of regional district court judges and election of new ones.

13. Examination of the question of personnel changes at the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

14. Examination of the Chief Prosecutor's resignation and election of a new Chief Public Prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

15. Adoption of a draft program on the legislative activities of the Grand National Assembly until the end of 1990.

16. Adoption of regulations on the work of the Grand National Assembly.

Presidential Hopefuls Questioned

AU2407142490 Sofia BTA in English 1355 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jul (BTA)—Today the Grand National Assembly renewed its session. The election of a president is on the agenda.

Though by a 3-vote majority only, the M.P.'s decided to stop their questions to the candidates for the position of president—Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], Dr Petur Dertliev from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], and Viktor Vulkov from the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]. The Socialist M.P.'s insisted for continuation of the discussion.

They insisted that the resignation of former President Mladenov be voted. Dr Zhelev from the opposition said in relation with that that the BSP is blocking parliament with procedural questions. "If this is to continue, we will leave," he said officially.

Election Statements Noted

AU2407171490 Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jul (BTA)—Chavdar Kyuranov, Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP candidate), Petur Dertliev, Union of Democratic Forces (SDS candidate) and Viktor Vulkov, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS candidate) answered questions and stated their views about the president's institution for the better part of two hours in front of the Grand National Assembly. The three candidates for the presidential position tried to win votes from the part of their opponents. The three of them presented themselves as democrats. They spoke as people who will stand for their beliefs but would remain above party interests to the interest of state ones. The three of them showed eloquence as well as readiness for a compromise and reaching of consensus between the different political forces. The three of them stated their readiness to work for this country's unity.

While the candidates nominated by the BSP, the SDS and the BZNS spoke and sometimes got the applauses of their opponents the MP's of the Movement For Rights and Freedoms (MRF) did now show their preferences.

The president should be elected by a majority of two-thirds in parliament. The BSP has 211 votes, the SDS 144, the MRF 23 and the BZNS 16. The group of the BZNS and the BZNS "Nikola Petkov" (from the SDS) agreed to cooperate with one another. The remaining 6 votes belong to other organizations and to independent MP's

It was agreed that the one-month period, for which the procedure for president election is considered open, has already been running since July 10. That means that August 10 is the deadline for president election. If that does not take place new parliamentary elections are to be held.

Candiates Reportedly Not Optimistic

AU2407184290 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jul (BTA)—The three speakers who addressed the Seventh Grand National Assembly session today were the only candidates for president, but parliament resolved that the nominations may be raised by M.P.'s and parliamentary groups only.

The candidates for president did not show to be very optimistic before BTA reporters. Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov repeated his words, stated from the rostrum: I can count to 267 (two-thirds of the votes). Viktor Vulkov smilingly predicted that the most worthy will win. Dr Petur Dertliev simply said that no president will be elected in the first round. "In spite of that, however, no matter what happens, I will have success," he added without specifying what he meant by it.

The general opinion of parliament is that all three candidates coped well with the questions, though some of them were catchy ones. Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov had to explain how did he get in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. After his being expelled from the BSP for his membership in the Club for Protection of Openness and Restructuring, he was in the SDS leadership as a member of this club, "but under the condition that the SDS will cooperate with radicals in the BSP." He left the opposition as "the influence of the right forces in the SDS increased then," as he said himself. He pleads for a coalition government, in the name of a civil peace, without rejecting the ruling party's responsibility. Prof. Kyuranov said that he has never worked in Vulko Chervenkov's and Todor Zhivkov's teams.

The leader of the Social Democratic Party Petur Dertliev's first words were an appeal for tolerance. There were many moments in the statement of this "politician by profession" which, in the secret vote may win the socialists' preferences. At the same time he did not hesitate to protect the students' strike, which was not approved by a large part of the ruling party members. To Dr Dertliev, the gravest issue for Bulgaria is the nationality issue: Half a million Bulgarians are living outside the country. "I would like that my cousins in Skopje and Veles would be able to say freely that they are Bulgarians," he said. The ethnic groups should have equal rights and obligations, ethnic variety is fortunate for Bulgaria, is his opinion.

Viktor Vulkov broached on foreign policy. It should be a policy of a sovereign country, which respects everybody, but has faith in itself, he stressed.

Most of the M.P.'s think that the president will not be elected at the first voting. The names of other possible candidates have begun to be heard. The personal opinion of Dragomir Draganov from the BSP is that the head of state should not be "party-coloured." He would himself propose for this position Metropolitan Pankratiy, "as the church has always played a welding role." The BSP parliamentary group will wait for the second voting and then will think for a new nomination.

According to the SDS leadership, the opposition will not look for a candidate outside its ranks. Some people are of the opinion that after Dr Petur Dertliev it will become necessary to seek another nominee.

The MRF [Rights and Freedoms Movement] refrains from proposing its own representative. It leaves that to the more numerous political forces.

The BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] will insist for its candidate.

Assembly Debates Council's Public Order Decree

AU2407203690 Sofia BTA in English 2011 GMT 24 Jul 90

["Grand National Assembly on Social Order"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jul (BTA)—The Council of Ministers decree, circulated yesterday, which appeals to the law enforcement forces to adopt the needed measures for order and calmness throughout the country and whose interpretation was rather contradictory, was a subject debated by the Grand National Assembly. After voting, the parliament approved the decree. Voting became necessary after the opposition demands that the government act be cancelled. While debates took place, demonstrators gathered near the National Assembly. Their negative reaction was apparently caused by statements made by the representatives of the ruling party.

The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] M.P.'s demanded that the decree be removed and placed under doubt the grounds for issuing such type of a document. Another representative of the opposition said that the decree has a propaganda character and serves the interests of one party.

Premier Andrey Lukanov grounded this government resolution with the frequent manifestations of civil disobedience on different occasions and stressed that the decree should by no means be related with the government's adherence to forcible actions.

Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of the interior, expressed fears that the situation which has been established in this country makes possible the existence of extremist actions. He refused to name a political force which stands behind the actions that might bring to danger and said that even the most democratic aims should not be withstood by undemocratic means. (Reproaches were often addressed at the "Town of Truth" and the students' strike for protecting democratic demands by undemocratic means.) Minister Semerdzhiev answered: "I have no comments to make" to the question about his attitude to the "Town of Truth." He said that an escalation of demands is observed and made it clear that this is also an escalation of tensions.

Opposition Deputies Create Parliamentary Group

AU2407104390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 16 Jul 90 p 4

[Text] A new group of members has been formed within the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Seven people's deputies who are not connected with parties within the framework of the SDS are combining their efforts to seek parliamentary guarantees for the segregation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party from the structures of power.

The platform of the "Forum" parliamentary group is based on the idea that political reform in the country has not been completed, and that the ruling party bears responsibility for this. In this connection, the deputies claim that suitable guarantees, including legislative ones, must be provided for the period until the new Constitution is drafted and adopted.

The group emphasizes the need to preserve a tradition in Bulgarian legislation, namely that of making those responsible for the national catastrophe answer for their actions. Emphasis is also placed on the need to renew the authority of the courts and the prosecutors as a guarantee for free and fair elections and the local authorities.

The "Forum" group intends to actively participate in two especially important commissions of the Grand National Assembly—the commission for examining the elections and the powers of the people's deputies, and the commission for investigating abuses in public life.

BSP Finance-Auditing Commission Meeting

AU2407122490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Jul 90 p 2

[Darina Radeva report: "Meeting of the Central Finance-Auditing Commission"]

[Text] On 13 July, the Central Finance-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held a plenary meeting at which, among other things, a brief report was read on the Commission's activities since the 14th Congress and its future tasks; the reviewed period shorter than six months. During that period, meetings were held with the chairmen of the finance-auditing commissions of the municipal party organizations and inspections were conducted at the BSP rest houses. At present the BSP regional accounting offices are being inspected.

What about the future? In August the expenditures of the BSP Supreme Council will be reviewed; in September

the bookkeeping of the Supreme Council's departments will be inspected. The working groups, which will deal with the second project, have been instructed to pay special attention to the letters that contain proposals to improve and democratize party life, the number of which has sharply increased recently. The preparation of the report of the Central Finance-Auditing Commission for the next congress has begun. The first draft will be reviewed in September.

The proposed draft for the instructions for the work of the BSP Finance-Auditing Commission was discussed in detail. The members of the Commission sought guarantees for directing the work of the finance-auditing organs to facilitate the introduction of order in the BSP's finances and for informing the party members about the BSP finances. It was decided to prepare provisional proposals, which will serve as a methodological foundation of the work of the BSP's finance-auditing organs.

Silistra Socialists Condemn Former Local Leaders

AU2407185590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Jul 90 p 2

[Text] Silistra, 22 Jul (DUMA correspondent Nikola Nanev)—The Silistra organization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], the largest in the Danubian region of Dobrudzha, held its election conference today. The 186 delegates participating in the conference heard a report on the state of their organization, on its work since the 14th Extraordinary BSP Congress, and on the need for stepping up the renewal of the organization, and then adopted three resolutions and an appeal to the chairman of the Grand National Assembly. The resolutions were concerned with the following topics: elimination of the consequences of the abuses committed within the municipal party organization during the period of the totalitarian regime and the radical reform of the organization; the ecological situation in the region; and the rising tension among the country's population.

A motion was put that the conference should support the position of the party organizations and clubs which condemn the authoritarian style of government practiced for decades on end, as well as the short-sighted cadre policy and errors in the development of industry, agriculture, and the intellectual sphere in the Silistra region. The conference voted for a resolution distancing itself from the wrong acts and corrupt approach to leadership and government of the following: Velyo Maksimov and Georgi Kardashev, the former first secretaries of the Silistra Okrug Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]; Dimitur Mikhaylov, former chairman of the Executive Committee of Silistra Okrug People's Council; the former secretaries of the Silistra Okrug BCP Committee Ganka Andreeva, Khristo Markov, Teodora Toneva, Deyan Chaushev, and Stefan Georgiev; Kalin Dimitrov, former chairman of the Silistra Okrug and Municipal Control-Auditing Commissions; Todor Dimitrov, chairman of the former okrug and present municipal committee for state and people's control; Rusi Slavov, former chief of the Silistra Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; and the Socialists Yordan Neykov, Dachka Savova, Aleksandur Petkov, Atanas Kirov, Nikola Chernikov, Stefan Raychev, Dimitur Markov, Dimitur Tonchev, Ivan Rusev, Georgi Zhelev, and Georgi Kolev, who had held various responsible posts in Silistra over the years.

The conference called upon the party organizations and clubs, with the help of the party ethics commission and in accordance with the BSP Statute, to conscientiously examine their party position and categorically dissociate themselves from all their members who by their conduct damage the prestige and authority of the BSP. The resolution points out that the discussion of this topic cannot be delayed, nor should it be conducted in a formal way.

Of the 30 socialists newly elected to the Silistra Municipal Party Council, half of them were directly nominated by the primary party organizations. Five candidates were proposed for the post of chairman, but the man who won the highest trust was the young philosopher Rumen Lipkov, a member of the "Road to Europe" Movement in the Silistra municipal BSP organization and a lecturer in the "Doncho Mikhaylov" Teachers Training Institute in Silistra. The newly elected party ethics commission is chaired by Avram Vasilev, a teacher and public figure with many years of experience.

French Car Assembly, Supply Agreement Signed

AU2407163290 Sofia BTA in English 1542 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Varna, 24 Jul (BTA)—A 5-year contract for industrial and trade cooperation was signed today between the Citroen and BAMO [expansion unknown] companies. In the frameworks of the BAMO contract it will produce car units from the range of the Citroen structures with the company's technical assistance, while the French partners will deliver cars for which the Bulgarian companies will provide the internal sale and servicing.

The desire is to deliver the first Citroen by the end of this year. Mutual exchange will gradually increase and at the end of the 5-year period the sale of French cars in Bulgaria in leva is expected to reach 2,000-2,500.

USSR's Gerasimov Arrives for Official Visit

Views United Germany, European Trends

LD2407183490 Prague CTK in English 1438 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 24 (CTK)—The Soviet Union believes that both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO should be transformed into a European security system into which united Germany would also be integrated, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a press conference here today.

Asked if he could see Prague as a possible seat of some of the major all-European institutions he said: "Where is the heart of Europe? Apparently in the Old Town Square" in Prague. Of course, it depends on the decision of the states participating in the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Gennadiy Gerasimov is in Czechoslovakia since Sunday, at the invitation of Deputy Foreign Minister Lubos Dobrovsky. He told journalists that he had met the press spokesmen of political parties and movements and would hold talks with the president's Press Secretary Michael Zantovsky.

The Soviet representative described such invasions as that of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 as inadmissible. He said that the Soviet Union was saddened by the incident at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Havana because it was a dispute between two of its friends.

He said that the Soviet Union was against arms trade in principle, but admitted that it resorted to it sometimes for economic reasons. It would be good to agree with the United States on deep cuts in this trade, he noted.

At present, the Soviet Union has no enemies abroad but "the situation is different inside the country", Gerasimov said and mentioned the problems of transition to a market economy and events in the union republics where "centrifugal tendencies" are increasing.

Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin added that existing problems centered mainly in the economic sphere. He expected a turn next year when the East European countries are to start to apply hard currencies and world prices in their trade.

The ambassador said that the Soviet Union provided Czechoslovakia with 48.3 percent of the contracted annual supply of 16.6 million tons of oil by July 23 this year and will not be able to supply the full quantity for the year. The reasons are not political, they stem only from the economic difficulties of the Soviet Union, he said.

Assesses NATO's Military Character

LD2407185290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In an interview given to Czechoslovak Television, Gennadiy Gerasimov explained the recent surprising switch in the Soviet attitude toward the membership of a united Germany in NATO. He said the decisive turn for the Soviet Union was the recent London conference of this alliance, which, though it has not principally changed the military character of NATO, nevertheless created by means of the accepted declaration the guarantees for a gradual disappearance of this character. We no longer object to the membership of a united Germany in the North Atlantic Treaty, but only under the prerequisite that this treaty no longer be a military organization, said Gennadiy Gerasimov in Prague today.

Possible Gorbachev Visit to Prague

LD2407184590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] Editor Vladimir Vercak reports on the news conference with the spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gennadiy Gerasimov:

[Vercak] Gennadiy Gerasimov, who is connected with the highest Soviet-U.S. meetings, as well as regular news conferences in Moscow, attracted a multitude of journalists to the press club at the Soviet Embassy in Prague. Corresponding to this was also the varied nature of the questions, ranging from foreign policy via internal matters, to some specific relations—for example, with Czechoslovakia. Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed that the task to set up external conditions for restructuring, no doubt, has been fulfilled. There are talks on various levels, perhaps with all the countries; relations with China are good; and contacts with the last country to refuse a dialogue, Albania, are also being made.

According to the Soviet guest, the question of implementation of restructuring in the USSR itself is more complex. This is confirmed not only by postponement of talks about the government program of accelerating the economic reform, but also the entire course of the 28th congress of the USSR which, it is true, marked the beginning of the course of restructuring, but with a number of critical remarks. Asked who will be the guarantor of restructuring when the CPSU no longer has the leading role, he said this was fully in the hands of the government. Regarding relations with Czechoslovakia, Gennadiy Gerasimov said he thinks they are good; they correspond to the present reality.

As to the background of the oil shock, he does not think this is a political affair. It simply happened the way it did. Connected with this was also the idea about the need as soon as possible to reassess USSR pricing and financial policy and to make the fastest possible steps toward convertibility of the ruble.

Asked what he thinks about the events at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Havana, Gennadiy Gerasimov said he is always sorry when friends argue or have a misunderstanding. A possible visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Czechoslovakia was not denied. In view of the fact that Prague will host a regular session of the political consultative committee of the

Warsaw Treaty, one can assume the Soviet delegation will be led by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Gerasimov Grants Interview

LD2407224490 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Interview with USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov by unidentified announcer in Prague—live; no video available; Gerasimov speaks in Russian with superimposed translation into Czech]

[Text] [Announcer] Now our interview with Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The first question is on the united Germany.

[Gerasimov] I am sure that seven weeks ago at the summit meeting in Washington, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke very sharply against the united Germany being a member of NATO. A week ago, he essentially expressed his agreement with this. What caused this completely principled change in attitude? What guarantees did the USSR want? The cause of the changes taking place in Europe—I would say that the main cause is the meeting in London, the session of NATO member states that adopted a statement acceptable to us—in fact, they offered us a helping hand. We had in Moscow Mr. Woerner, NATO general secretary, and he said that NATO offered us a helping hand of friendship, [word indistinct] of the Warsaw Pact. Naturally, if we assessed the situation in Europe as the confrontation of two blocs—united Germany and NATO [as heard]—there would be a preponderance there. But arithmetic does not work any more. We think that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO must develop in the direction of collective security, and it is up to Germany to decide what it wants to do, whether it wants to stay in NATO, because NATO itself is changing.

[Announcer] Regarding this, I would like to ask what role NATO will have in the future, and what role the Warsaw Pact will have.

[Gerasimov] The Warsaw Pact is basically disintegrating. I think that its role will vanish because its reason for existence is vanishing. NATO was born because it was thought there was danger from the East. The Warsaw Pact was born as a response to the threat represented by NATO. This, at present, is merely an academic question: whether or not there was a real threat from the West, and whether there was a threat to the West from the East.

[Announcer] Then NATO and the Warsaw Pact will disappear, in your opinion.

[Gerasimov] Perhaps they will not disappear; perhaps NATO wants to stay. The Warsaw Pact, obviously, will be transformed in time into something else, into some sort of a political union and, instead of bloc confrontation, there will be an all-European process, an all-European home, and there will be some kind of joint system of stability in which united Germany, too, will take part.

[Announcer] The USSR said that it will withdraw its troops from the GDR. In your opinion, will the United States, Canada, and Great Britain take the same steps? We know that France refused.

[Gerasimov] True, this was before the meeting between Gorbachev and Kohl. France said—and President Mitterrand will have to think about withdrawing French troops—obviously we will also withdraw our troops in a few years' time. The Rundeswehr will reduce its numbers, from 850,000—that is the argument, inasmuch as Germany will stay in NATO, but military ties will be reduced, so that the situation will be completely different. As for the U.S. troops, I think that there will be serious arguments in Congress over whether or not the Americans should stay.

What is involved is a lack of trust in Germany, not only in the West, but also in the East. They say that a united Germany will represent a kind of a weapon which will prevent the boat from floating. Perhaps the United States will try to leave something there. This will, no doubt, be reduced numbers, which will not provoke any danger. People say that Mikhail Gorbachev changed his relationship, his attitude toward a united Germany and its membership in NATO allegedly thanks to the economic aid which it will get from the West: 5-15 billion West German marks.

[Announcer] In your opinion, did the USSR's economic situation play a role in solving this foreign political problem?

[Gerasimov] I do not think so. What played a role here was the change in the strategic political situation in Europe. As to the economic cooperation with Germany, the FRG remains our greatest Western partner. The GDR was our biggest partner in the CEMA. A united Germany will be our biggest economic trading partner. The Germans are meeting us halfway in many respects. They give us credit, they invite our experts, and it appears that they are further ahead of Britain and the United States, who are in no hurry.

[Announcer] Despite all this, how would you assess the current economic situation in the USSR?

[Gerasimov] At the moment, we find ourselves in a critical situation. When President Gorbachev was elected president, he said in his first address that it is necessary to radicalize the economic reform. The government submitted a draft of this reform, but our parliament, the Supreme Soviet, halted this reform. Now everybody will be resting in August, apart from our government, which will be preparing a new program to submit for approval to the Supreme Soviet in September.

[Announcer] Will you manage to prepare a good program, inasmuch as the fate of this government depends on it?

[Gerasimov] This will be decided by the Supreme Soviet in September because, in my opinion, they work around the clock.

[Announcer] In your view, what chances are there for the government of Nikolay Ryzhkov in an atmosphere of almost daily strikes?

[Gerasimov] The government is criticized because the economy is in a very difficult situation. Many things are hard to understand. For example, [word indistinct] cigarettes or [word indistinct] is being limited.

[Announcer] What is the gasoline situation in the USSR?

[Gerasimov] I don't know, but I think it is...

[Announcer, interrupting] The same as in our country?

[Gerasimov] No. Overall, it is normal, if we consider normal a situation where first we don't have this and then we don't have that. Naturally people became angry about it, and criticize and blame the government. Then the government must defend itself and must prove itself not by words but by deeds.

[Announcer] Perestroyka started five years ago. The situation today is worse than five years ago. Why?

[Gerasimov] It depends on what is considered worse. When we consider foreign policy, the situation is much, much better. We secured calm external conditions for our restructuring. We have normalized the situation and our relations with China. We have enormous borders where we buried 200 million rubles [as heard]. The area is calm at present. We have improved our relations with the United States—it is our partner, not our opponent. We have improved overall our relations with the West.

With regard to the internal political situation, we have gained one positive thing: glasnost. Naturally, it is something else that glasnost is boundless, and that problems occur which should not be here: for example, nationalist unrest. I think that this shouldn't be here. We were bringing our nations up in the spirit of friendship between individual nations. With regard to giving up administrative-bureaucratic management, we have only just begun, (?not quite like you), and it will be very difficult to overcome all these problems. I would like to wish you many successes, that you solve these problems. Yes, this is the most important economic reform.

[Announcer] Thank you.

Hungary Intervention 'Impermissible'

LD2407150290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow's foreign affairs spokesman has said that the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary in 1956 was impermissible. Gerasimov is in Prague on a working visit, and he declared there before journalists that for the time being, he has not received any information about Hungary having requested a condemnation of the 1956 invasion of Moscow. The spokesman recalled that in the Soviet Union, the reevaluation of history is still under way. At any rate, in his opinion, the intervention in Hungary, like the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, must be viewed as impermissible.

Talks Held With Austria on Nuclear Plant

LD2407202790 Prague CTK in English 1853 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bratislava July 24 (CTK)—Slovak Minister Ivan Tirpak told CTK today that during talks with Austrian Environment Minister Marilies Flemming in Bratislava yesterday the Czechoslovak side went to the limits of its possibilities to meet Austrian Demands.

Although no communique was adopted, it cannot be said that the conclusions were not positive, the minister said. He explained that Czechoslovakia could not back up on the wording that Austrian experts would have observer status on a Siemens commission to conduct a study of the Czechoslovak nuclear power station at Jaslovske Bohunice near the Austrian border because it could not promise them information patented by Siemens and the Soviet Union.

He said that since 1986, i.e. long before the present protets in Austria, Czechoslovakia has been carrying out a program to incrase the originally designed safety of the V-1 nuclear power station. The Siemens experties [as received] is to start on August 7. There will also be a study by the International Atomic Energy Agency in October. Czechoslovakia will decide on the basis of their results, the minister said.

In Vienna, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said today that Austrian energy supplies to Czechoslovakia during a shutdown of the V-1 plant were conditional on the participation of experts of the Austrian Forum for Nuclear Issues in the inspection at Jaslovske Bohunice.

It is inconceivable that experts of the Nuclear Forum have only observer status, he told the APA news agency. Austria is greatly interested in the shutdown of dangerous nuclear facilities close to its borders and for this reason is prepared to support their closure.

Hurd News Conference; Thatcher To Visit in Sep

LD2307171290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Douglas Hurd, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, gave a news conference in Prague at which editor (Olga Santova) was present:

[Begin (Santova) recording] Douglas Hurd said that his visit and talks here were a follow-up to our representatives' visit to Great Britain in April. Besides an agreement on cooperation in the struggle against terrorism, the talks concerned

Britain's assistance to Czechoslovakia—especially in teaching English and specialist courses.

Regarding visa-free travel between our country and Great Britain, Douglas Hurd stressed that in his country there is no system of police registration, and issuing visas is therefore the only way of control. A possibility of moderating the so-far valid regulations will be studied by a group of experts.

The British minister, accompanied by our foreign affairs minister, also visited Lidice today. In this regard I asked about Great Britain's stance on European security issues and the position of the unified Germany. Mr. Hurd responded that a divided Germany had been a more serious source of tension and therefore had represented a more serious threat to security. The two countries have similar views regarding this issue as well as a number of other issues. These issues will be discussed in more detail during Margaret Thatcher's visit to Prague in September. [end recording]

Dubcek, Hurd Discuss Situation in Country

LD2307174390 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek and visiting British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd discussed here today the situation in Czechoslovakia including the nationality issues.

Alexander Dubcek said inter alia that the self-government of towns and communities is being strengthened in the country, i.e., decision-making on basic local problems is being moved to places where people work and live.

The Czechoslovak official also stated that the present level of Czechoslovak-British relations and cooperation does not correspond with the new conditions.

Vales, Hurd View Economy, Trade

LD2307194790 Prague CTK in English 1913 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's economic situation and progress of reforms dominated talks between Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd today.

Mr Hurd noted that British enterprises have already showed their interest in doing business in Czechoslovakia and come to see the chances but they have been waiting to really start until new legislation on the transition to a market economy is completed.

Vaclav Vales assured him that the Czechoslovak Government was currently revising economic laws and was ready to remove all that would prove to hamper enterprise. It also seeks to coordinate talks with foreign partners in order to arrive at concrete results.

The development is complicated by the fact that the transition to market relations is taking place amid dramatic external influences such as shortfalls in Soviet oil supplies and changes in trade with the GDR after its monetary and economic union with West Germany came into effect at the beginning of this month. This affects two-fifths of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade which is oriented at "soft markets". As far as oil is concerned, there is no problem to buy it on the world market but to pay [for] it. Forthcoming talks with the Soviet Union will show how much time Czechoslovakia will have to extend the list of its suppliers and buyers.

Vaclav Vales said that Czechoslovakia plans to give priority to engineering as the basic industrial branch in future. In modernization of this branch it will not be able to do without foreign partners but it will have to seek those who will help it to market its products. Promising are those productions in which Czechoslovakia is competitive, such as textile and printing machines, precision engineering, machines for the paper and glass industries. A potential that it has so far failed to fully use is the tourist trade.

Hurd Grants Interview

LD2307213790 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Interview with UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd by unidentified reporter; place and date not given; Hurd and reporter speak in English with superimposed translation into Czech]

[Text] After his news conference, Douglas Hurd gave a brief interview to Czechoslovak television:

[Begin recording] [Hurd] Relations between Great Britain and Czechoslovakia are already good, but I would like to give them a more practical content. I think that our ideas about Europe are developing and our views have much in common. We would also like to give a new practical content to economic relations, making use of knowledge and other possibilities.

[Reporter] Have any specific steps been done in this direction?

[Hurd] Yes, for example, we have discussed the use [sic vyuzivani] of English in Czechoslovakia among your civil servants, managers, and at schools. We also discussed privatization—handing over industrial and agricultural enterprises to individuals. I think that these are two areas where we have some experience which could be useful to you.

[Reporter] Here is my last question: What is your view on the unification process in Germany?

[Hurd] It is going to happen and it ought to happen. The division of Germany was artificial and dangerous. Fortunately, the unification is a peaceful process. Germany will become a part of EC, NATO, and a part of a new stage of existence of the CSCE. [end recording]

Meets Czech Official

LD2407121190 Prague CTK in English 1056 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 24 (CTK)—On the second day of his two-day visit here, the British secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Douglas Hurd, met with vice-chairman of the Czech National Council, Mr. Vaclav Zak.

Mr. Hurd was particularly interested in the new concept of Czechoslovakia's federation in connection with the work on the new constitutions of the two national republics and the federation. According to Mr. Zak, the federative set-up should be maintained because of its integrating functions. Mr. Hurd also expressed interest in the further functioning of the educational and technological spheres and in defferences in the policies of the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

Visits Bratislava, Holds Talks

LD2407174790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, who is in our country at the invitation of Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, arrived for a visit to Bratislava this afternoon. Viliam Roth and Michal Michalcik covered his talks with the representatives from the Slovak parliament and government:

[Michalcik] The head of British diplomacy first visited Bratislava Castle, where he was welcomed by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko. In a short discussion he told the British guest about the proposal that a meeting of philosophers, writers, and other intelligentsia from the Soviet Union and West Europe should take place at Bratislava University. Douglas Hurd said that this proposal is stimulating and interesting. He noted in this connection that his government intends to set up a British Council branch in the Slovak capital, which will promote the improvement of mutual cultural contacts, the teaching of the English language, and an improved knowledge of the history of both countries.

At a meeting with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, the British minister reaffirmed his country's interest in assisting economic reforms in our country and the interest of British firms and companies in investing in Slovakia. Unfortunately, a legal basis for this kind of cooperation has not yet been built.

[Begin Hurd recording, in English with superimposed translation into Slovak] We in Britain are now watching with great attention the massive and impressive reforms, both on the federal and national levels of this country. We wish you success, not only for the sake of our friendship, but also because your cooperation within Czechoslovakia, in the Czech and Slovak Republics, in tackling all problems could be an inspiration and example for the whole of East and Central Europe. [end recording]

[Roth] This is what the British minister told the newsmen at a brief news conference. He pointed out that his talks in Bratislava have given him a better insight into the problems of our federation, and he welcomed the opportunity to discuss this again at an evening meeting with representatives from Slovak political and public life. He reiterated some offers of help and priorities in the British perception of assistance to our country in its reforms, in particular in privatizing the economy. Using a little of the famous British irony, he praised the record number of legislative measures designed to meet the requirements of economic reforms, which, in his words, provide sufficient work for lawyers at least for the next few years. Despite this he reiterated the well-known British stance that in order to encourage his country's investors to come to our country, it will be necessary to provide better legal guarantees for their business interests and profits.

He then went on to give an assurance that Great Britain perceives the process and results of German unification as a strengthening of stability on the European continent, which is of importance also in dissipating the anxieties that can be discerned in the views of our population and which are linked with the tragic historical experiences of our people.

[Michalcik] The British foreign secretary is now in the historical Devin Castle, which he toured with Slovak Culture Minister Ladislav Snopko. One could say that he will end his visit to Slovakia in a symbolic way, in the places where there were until recently barbed wire barriers—the Iron Curtain dividing Europe.

Hungarian Proposal for Danube Dam 'Bad Joke'

AU2407180190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jul 90 p 2

[Oldrich Zabojnik article: "Gabcikovo, Gabcikovo...."]

[Excerpts] The Gabcikovo hydropower project is like a problematic child about whom his parents prefer to keep silent. [passage omitted] Even now one is more or less silent about Gabcikovo, even though Premier M. Calfa mentioned the project twice recently. The first time was when he said that the Novaky thermal power station [whose closure Gabcikovo is to make possible] has turned an unforgettable part of Slovakia into a landscape reminiscent of northern Bohemia, and the second time was when he mentioned, in the federal government's policy statement, that Gabcikovo has already cost us 14 billion korunas. [passage omitted]

One can describe Gabcikovo as the mongoloid offspring of the totalitarian regime or as a monumental neo-Stalinist lampoon. One can also, when one finds it congenial, describe as feeble-minded, to say the least, all the experts who participated in the Danube dam project as designers, contractors, investors, etc. However, one would have to disqualify as feeble-minded a great many people, not only in our country but abroad as well, to the

east but also to the west of our republic, many of whom delivered an expert opinion on the project.

But let us not settle the bill without the innkeeper. The innkeeper, in this case, are our Hungarian partners, who show no intention at all of resuming the construction of Nagymaros. Obviously, they are not short of electricity, nor will they be short of it in the future. Moreover, without them we will be unable to put Gabcikovo into operation because only they can dam the Danube on their territory to ensure water for the hydroelectric power plant on our territory.

Months ago, it was possible to explain the misunderstandings by Czechoslovakia and Hungary speaking two different political languages. These dissonances have been blown away by time, yet the duet continues to sound somewhat discordant. The problem therefore apparently lies in different approaches. [passage omitted] Be that as it may, one cannot deny our partners the endeavor to seek the most original solutions. This is confirmed by the report from Budapest, suggesting that the building site of the hydroelectric power project be turned into an exemplary nature reserve that could be shown to visitors of the World Exhibition in Vienna and Budapest in 1995.

We are not far from Budapest, neither geographically nor historically, and vice versa. We also know each other's sense of humor. This time, however, the attempt to be funny did not come off, no matter how indulgently it is assessed. This is a bad joke and a test of our nerves, potential naivete, and the length of our memory.

CTK on Foreign Commercial Agencies Establishment

LD2507091990 Prague CTK in English 0840 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Foreign Trade Ministry, by its decree of July 1, 1990, significantly facilitates the establishment and running of commercial representations of foreign firms and persons in Czechoslovakia.

Under this decree, foreign firms and persons—through their commercial agents—can advertise their products and services and conclude agreements and contracts with Czechoslovak persons licenced for commercial activity involving foreigners. The foreign firms and persons can also carry out other activity within the limits of the respective licence.

The new decree at the same time requires the foreign firms or persons in question to conduct appropriate book-keeping so that both their income and expenditure is properly registered for the purpose of assessing the tax due and commission.

Applications for the registration of commercial agencies will be attended to by "federalni ministerstvo zahranichniho obchodu" (The Federal Foreign Trade Ministry), at Politickych Veznu 20, Prague 1, postal code 112 49, phone 2126-1111.

The foreign applicant is required to submit a certificate of incorporation or any other authorised certificate testifying to the company's position in its home country. Also, the applicant is required to submit within 30 days a certificate issued by a Czechoslovak bank and confirming that the same firm has established a foreign currency account, and a certificate showing that the applicant has registered with the respective Czechoslovak tax authority.

Outside this form of commercial activity, foreign firms or persons may enter the Czechoslovak market through specialized Czechoslovak foreign trade companies or entrust their representation to specialized Czechoslovak commercial agencies.

Havel Interviewed Prior to Salzburg Visit

LD2407220790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel has given an interview to the daily SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN prior to his visit to Salzburg, in which he explains that the boycott of Austrian President Kurt Waldheim by foreign statesmen has become a certain stereotype and game. According to Havel, this attitude probably had a certain ethical and moral basis but because of its ritualization, it has become empty and is losing its original moral content. There is not a bit of moral daring in this, but instead cold-blooded considerations: If one does not go, then the others will also not go. They are afraid of one another, said the Czechoslovak president.

Asked whether he considers it possible that he will officially visit Austria by the summer of 1992, Vaclav Havel said briefly that such a visit is not planned at the moment. In the interview for the daily SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN, he also expressed regret at the Czechoslovak-Austrian controversies that have arisen. In Vaclav Havel's words, at present Czechoslovakia cannot stop completely making use of nuclear energy. The Prague government still has to work out an energy plan.

Fears Expressed of Return to 'Cabinet Policy'

AU2407132390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 19 Jul 90 p 1

[Karel Hvizdala commentary: "Question Marks Surrounding the Castle"]

[Text] On Tuesday [17 July], LIDOVE NOVINY published an open letter to the president in which it appealed to him to cancel his participation in this year's Salzburg Festival and instead to request one of the well-known Austrian cultural representatives to make his opening

speech in his absence. The letter states as a reason for this the fact that Vaclav Havel should not meet with Kurt Waldheim, who has been boycotted by the world's democratic community since 1986 due to his activity during World War II.

Yesterday we found out that Ladislav Adamec, the former premier, has been pardoned by the president. Among other things, Vaclav Havel said in this regard: "Recently, I suspended criminal proceedings against Dr. Ladislav Adamec in the matter of the criminal act of abusing the authority of a public official. This concerned the sum of 26,340 korunas which, with his agreement, was not demanded from Dr. Korcak when he was replaced in his post as Czech premier by Dr. Adamec. The issue involved the residual value of furniture which should have been repayed by the Office of the Government Presidium.... I emphasize that this pardon only applies to the matter I have been speaking about. This definitely does not mean a guarantee of immunity for Dr. Adamec or for anyone else."

This week the FINANCIAL TIMES, a British daily, published an interview with Michael Zantovsky, the Castle's press spokesman, in which Mr. Zantovsky allegedly forecast that Premier Calfa's recently appointed government will collapse by the end of the year on account of increasing economic difficulties.

The daily also writes that there is no personal "tension" between the president and the premier. However, according to the paper, there are frictions between the president and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, who is an adherent of the accelerated introduction of a market economy. Apparently last month Minister Klaus narrowly avoided being removed from his post when Vaclav Havel and his advisers attempted to transfer him to the post of central bank director. Spokesman Michael Zantovsky told CTK that Mr. Collitt, the author of the FINANCIAL TIMES article, misinterpreted his remarks, and put Collitt's own words into his mouth regarding the fall of the Czechoslovak Government by the end of the year.

The spokesman's statement, made at a time when people in offices and bars are betting on whether the government will last until the fall or until Christmas, really made me laugh. Rumors about disagreements with the finance minister can already be heard on the grapevine, and elegant phrases that "the fine fabric of relations between the president and the finance minister is simply not binding together," merely glosses over the gravity of the problem. Changing the concept of reform "after the first round," which Vaclav Klaus won, is another risk for which, of course, we ourselves are to blame. An open and public discussion that would lead to a single and binding solution has not been held about economic reform.

Similarly, the belated information about Ladislav Adamec's "recent" pardon has also aroused justified fears among people about whether the Castle is again inclining toward a cabinet policy.

And what can be said about Kurt Waldheim's forgotten fame?

As CTK informed us yesterday afternoon, the president has not canceled his participation in the Salzburg Festival. He has stuck to his decision, but he will fly there by helicopter from Beyreuth with Richard von Weizsaecker. Both heads of state will only meet with Kurt Waldheim during the opening ceremony. That is indeed a diplomatic and elegant solution, despite the fact that even the Charter 77 signatories do not recommend that the president take part in this meeting.

Havel Views Developments in CSFR Economy

AU2407104090 Vienna PROFIL in German 23 Jul 90 pp 40-41

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Erhard Stackl and Helmut Voska in Prague; date not given: "Our Country Is Unstable"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [PROFIL] How is the CSFR supposed to develop in the future? Is it to become like the other countries in free Europe? In your works you criticized the Western system for merely striving for profit, meaningless work, and similar things. Do you think it possible to realize part of your ideas of creating a society which keeps the unpleasant aspects of the West away?

[Havel] The further development in the CSFR certainly depends not only on my ideas. But my ideas run along the lines that it should be a democratic country, an economically prosperous country, a socially just country, which will permit itself to be taught by the West wherever possible, but, at the same time, defends itself against a total dictate, against too much commercialization and advertisement, that is, which will avoid everything that we do not find particularly nice about Western society.

[PROFIL] How will the economy be organized in the future?

[Havel] We want as many varieties of forms of ownership as possible. There are to be purely private enterprises, cooperatives, state enterprises, stock corporations, combined ownership, and participation of employees, that is, the most varied forms of ownership. Life will show what will stand its test under our special conditions and what will not. The process of privatization often gives the impression in our country that everything is to become private now. This process will be very difficult. In the past everything was nationalized in our country, in contrast to the other communist countries really everything—and thus it was anonymous.

[PROFIL] There is already a wave of price hikes; unemployment is imminent. Will the people be willing to put up with this in order to have a better future or is there the danger of exacerbated political conflicts?

[Havel] We hear from all sides how the citizens express their goodwill and their readiness to tighten their belts. The extent to which this is true will be seen when the people are really worse off—this is hard to predict. Our country is in an unstable state now; one cannot say which reactions will be caused by which step. But we do not want to apply any shock therapy; we offer retraining programs for the future unemployed; we are fully aware of the risks that we are facing.

[PROFIL] You agreed to give the opening speech at the Salzburg Festival this week. Two Austrian writers' associations have called on you not to give this speech because President Kurt Waldheim will be present. What is your response?

[Havel] One year ago, when I was still a dissident, I promised to give the speech in Salzburg. Of course, I could not predict what would happen in the course of a year. After my election as president the issue was one of keeping the promise I made at that time. I considered the whole thing as a cultural event. Now, however, political aspects of this matter are emerging, have been brought up by Austrian intellectuals as well as in our country, and I will have to examine these aspects once again.

[PROFIL] This means, you will mention these aspects in your speech?

[Havel] We will see.

Adamec Finds Havel's Pardon 'Just'

AU2407115990

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 July on page 2 carries a 300-word interview with Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by Pavel Kryl. In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Adamec is asked to comment on President Havel's decision, announced in LIDOVE NOVINY of 18 July, to stop legal proceedings against him on charges of misusing the powers of a public official. Adamec says that he already explained the case in his interview with RUDE PRAVO on 29 June. Nonetheless, the prosecutor's office continued investigations against him, and it could not be ruled out that they will continue for several more months. He continues: "I need peace for my work, and have therefore decided to ask Mr. President to stop the legal proceedings because I am convinced that I am not guilty of any criminal act. I regard Mr. President's decision, about which I read in LIDOVE NOVINY, as just, and believe that the case is thereby closed."

Adviser Says Finance Minister Should Resign

AU2407123690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 19 July on page 1 carries a 600-word Tibor Bucha report on his interview with Arnulf Ivan Simmon, "adviser" of Vladimir Dlouhy, federal minister of economy. The interview was conducted in Bratislava on 18 July. The interview states Simmon used to be the financial chief of an unnamed "large U.S. concern."

In the first part of the interview, Simmon blames the current problems in the supply of oil products on the monopoly status of Czechoslovak suppliers of gasoline. He points out that there is no "advanced country with a market economy" in the world that would depend on a single company for gasoline deliveries. He sees a solution in the privatization and reconstruction of the Czechoslovak petrol market "by Shell, Texaco, and the like," which will require "guarantees that there will never be a new Gottwald to dispossess them of their property."

In the second part of the interview, Simmon criticizes Federal Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus. He says that he knows of "no advanced economy in the world that would be so stupid as to put an economist in the state leadership." Czechoslovakia, as well, needs businessmen, engineers, and technicians in its state leadership, "people who create value." Simmon continues: "I believe that V. Klaus is quite a reasonable man, but he does not understand that his current policy is applicable only in an economically advanced system. His reasoning is not correct, and that is why there is going to be a catastrophe. He does not realize that the only chance of rescue for the Czechoslovak economy is production growth. We should increase it tenfold to generate national income, and he is stifling it. Production output is falling! That is why I believe that the expeditious return of V. Klaus to banking would only benefit the republic. I have told him so to his face." Simmon also expresses his relief at the fact that V. Komarek, another economist, has left the government. He says of him: "Imagine, in the United States he declared that we will create a market economy in Czechoslovakia, and the government will then control it. The 50 journalists in New York almost fell off their chairs."

Nuclear Safety Chairman Interviewed on Bohunice

AU2407125790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 21 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Karel Wagner, chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, by Martin Fuk; place and date not given: "Will We Halt Bohunice?"; first paragraph is SVOBODNE SLOVO introduction]

[Text] The V-1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice has recently become the object of another Austrian press campaign against our nuclear program. It developed as a result of an article in the Slovak newspaper NOVE SLOVO [New Word] in which Engineer J. Beranek, an employee of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, spoke about the V-1 nuclear power plant. We asked Engineer Karel Wagner, chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, for his point of view on the campaign.

[Wagner] First of all, I want to stress that it is, to say the least, very strange that Engineer Beranek's article was published on 14 June and that the Austrian press only

began its outcry one month later. The article contained generally known and technically correct data that described some incidents which, even at the time of publication, were unsubstantiated.

[Fuk] Does this mean that safety at the V-1 plant has increased?

[Wagner] The plant's blocks were put into operation in 1978 and 1980. We neither concealed their technical level nor the risk. However, nuclear safety requirements at that time were at a much lower level throughout the world than they are today. As they gradually increased, several measures were implemented in the V-1—for example, by breaking down the peripheral fuel panels, the amount of neutron radiation in the reactor's pressure vessel was reduced, additional diagnostic equipment from the FRG was installed, and our own equipment, which increased capacity in searching for defects in the primary ducts, was also installed. Moreover, along with the USSR, the GDR, and Bulgaria—the states operating this first generation reactor—we have adopted a set of 16 fundamental measures which will bring the level of nuclear safety into line with current requirements. These measures will be implemented before 1992.

[Fuk] We have encountered speculation about a recent large emission of radioactivity caused, apparently, by sabotage. Could you tell us something about this?

[Wagner] I can only deny this speculation. Minor incidents, which do not cross the plant's threshold, take place in each nuclear power plant. Such events are monitored by the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission and are regularly made public. Such instances are far fewer at the V-1 than at our other nuclear power plants. This is because this plant has the lowest level of nuclear safety of all our nuclear power plants and is therefore monitored and controlled very closely.

[Fuk] The V-1, then, is not in a parlous condition?

[Wagner] No. It is capable of operation and is not immediately endangering anyone. The risk of an accident has been further reduced by the measures that have been introduced; however, the public's perception of this risk has altered much more significantly—its unwillingness to put up with the risk, however small, has increased.

[Fuk] Will you recommend halting production at the V-1 plant if the Austrian Government really demands it?

[Wagner] Of course we do not envisage that the V-1 will remain in operation for the entire period of its projected viability, but we will not halt production tomorrow, for instance. The state inspector has demanded the drafting of a new safety report for the end of the third quarter. At the beginning of October, an International Atomic Energy Authority commission will be set up to investigate security issues at the V-1. After all the conclusions have been evaluated, a decision will be made on the plant's future operation, reconstruction, or suspension. However, the decision will be made on the basis of a thorough scientific analysis and on the basis of absolute responsibility for the population's safety; it will not be made on the basis of a distorted and incompetent press campaign.

Bohunice Director Discusses Plant's Safety

AU2407134090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Jaslovske Bohunice, CTK—Adolf Krstenik, director of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plants, emphasized in an interview with CTK reporters that the V-1 blocks are the oldest in our country, but that even older ones are still in operation within CEMA. We are also aware of the fact that they do not meet the same safety standard as the majority of blocks in advanced countries or the new blocks being constructed in our country. Thus, the Austrian activists' points of view are nothing new to us. We do not underestimate the issue of safety guarantees for the V-1's operation. We have prepared a program to increase safety by adopting diagnostic, anti-seismic, technological, and anti-fire measures from the well-known Siemens company. We are also making use of an offer from an International Atomic Energy Authority team in Vienna to conduct a comprehensive inquiry into safety. On the basis of these independent points of view, a decision can be made on the blocks' fundamental reconstruction or on halting their activity.

Meciar on Nuclear Plant, Hungarian Intelligence

LD2407203290 Prague CTK in English 1909 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bratislava July 24 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar reacted to today's reports in the daily NARODNA OBRODA that Hungarian intelligence staff operate in the south of Slovakia.

Speaking after a government session he said that increased presence of officers of Hungarian special forces could be noted in Slovakia lately but he believed that they were there only as tourists.

The premier also commented upon yesterday's talks of Austrian Environment Minister Merilies Flemming in Bratislava. The view is different from each side, he said.

We want safety of the Jaslovke Bohunice power station, which is important for both Austria and Czechoslovakia. However, we would not like it to become a political issue. He noted that two expertises [as received] have been ordered by Czechoslovakia. We have nothing to hide on the equipment. We want to know the truth, with the participation of objective experts, he said.

The premier pointed out that the energy problems in Slovakia, where the energy deficit is 20 per cent, must be solved.

General Director Outlines Uranium Industry Plans

AU2407152090

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 July on page 2 carries a 800-word article

by Richard Stregl entitled "Uranium Industry at Crossroads Again." The article is based on the author's undated interview with Jaroslav Svoboda, general director of the Czechoslovak Uranium Industry, and deals with Svoboda's plans for the industry's future.

The opening part of the article deals with Svoboda's fate during the last 20 years, which he spent in "domestic exile" because of his attempt in 1968 (when he was deputy general director) to change the Czechoslovak uranium industry's one-sided orientation as supplier of the Soviet Union.

Speaking about his present plans, Svoboda says: "The program for the development of the uranium industry can be divided into the so-called vertical and horizontal programs. The aim of the vertical program is to move away from the simple extraction of uranium to its processing and to building an industrial branch in the true sense of the word. Fuel for nuclear power stations, which has until now been produced for us from our own uranium in the Soviet Union, should be its top product. The enrichment of uranium, which is a technologically too demanding activity, would continue to be provided by the Soviet Union or by some other country if it offers more advantageous terms.

"The horizontal program should meet two objectives. First, creation of jobs for miners eliminated from active service in the mines and, second, improvement of the balance sheet of the future joint stock mining companies."

According to Svoboda, Czechoslovakia would also like to enter the "world market for uranium." Asked how he intends to go about it, given the fact that this market is "controlled by the countries of the so-called uranium club" and the "outsiders" are forced to sell at two to three times lower prices, Svoboda says: "Apart from long- term contracts, we can rely only on the personal contacts of people who command influence with firms which control the market." In this context, Svoboda mentions Karel Bocek, director of the Czechoslovak Uranium Industry in 1968, who emigrated to the FRG after 1968 and is now an "acknowledged world expert in the field."

Stregl concludes his article by saying that "in view of the approaching declassification of all data on the uranium industry," HOSPODARSKE NOVINY will "soon return" to the problems of this industrial branch.

Hard Currency Earnings Hit by Fuel Exports Ban

AU2407155890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jul 90 p 2

[CTK report: "On Exports of Diesel Fuel to the FRG"]

[Excerpts] Reports on the sale of diesel fuel to the FRG at a supposedly ridiculously low price have stirred up public attention. A CTK correspondent asked Engineer Karel Kareta, chief official in charge of the export of oil products in the Chemapol Prague foreign trade enterprise, for a comment. [passage omitted]

About one million tonnes of diesel fuel was to be exported from Czechoslovakia this year. On the basis of the government resolution of 17 July, the export of diesel fuel will be discontinued by 1 August. Only about 300,000 tonnes of diesel fuel will have been exported by this date, which means that planned exports of about 700,000 tonnes to the Western market will not materialize. This will have a great impact on the foreign exchange proceeds of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. [passage omitted]

K. Kareta stressed that crude oil has never been exported from Czechoslovakia: "We process at our cracking equipment heavy heating oils from the USSR into gasoline and diesel fuel, which can be neither used nor stored in the CSFR and are therefore being exported. This export is not only advantageous for us but is also necessary," Karel Kareta added.

Oil Shortage Compels Army Austerity Measures

AU2407143390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jul 90 p 2

[CTK report: "The Army's Fuel for the State"]

[Text] Prague— Czechoslovak Army representatives have made available to CTK some data on the Armed Forces's share in the overall national consumption of fuels. Annual consumption of gasoline in the Czechoslovak Army represents 0.83 percent and its consumption of diesel fuel 1.22 percent of national consumption. In allocating consumption quotas for this year, the Army reduced the amount allocated to it by 2,500 tonnes of gasoline, which represents almost 20 percent of its annual consumption, in favor of the state. It also decided to limit its consumption of diesel fuel by 6,000 tonnes (13 to 14 percent of its annual needs). Furthermore, this January, at the federal government's request, the Army released 25,000 tonnes of fuel from its share in the federal contingency fund (earmarked for emergency situations), from which amount the Benzina and Benzinol state enterprises have drawn only 18,300 tonnes. Another 25,000 tonnes were released from the same source at the beginning of June. Until yesterday, Benzina and Benzinol have drawn 10,000 tonnes from this amount. On 17 July, finally, the Army released to the state another 15,000 tonnes of fuels from the federal contingency fund. The minister of national defense ordered all Army units to implement the main combat tasks with even stricter austerity measures.

Army Official Views New Military Doctrine

AU2407135590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Jul 90 p 3

[Richard Stregl report: "We Have No Enemies in Europe"]

[Text] The new Czechoslovak defense doctrine will not be a new one, but the first one. According to Major General Josef Vincenc, General Staff first deputy chief, Czechoslovakia, as well as other Warsaw Pact countries, previously had no defense doctrine. The first one will be declared after the new constitution is established, because this doctrine must not contradict the constitution—it has to proceed from it. Based on the draft, General Vincenc could explain the principal ideas of the doctrine, which is a sort of collection of philosophical thoughts.

The draft doctrine respects the sovereign standing of our country in the center of Europe and follows up on the fact that we do not have hostile intentions toward any of our neighbors and that we do not see a potential enemy in these neighbors. The CSFR, with its potential, does not represent a militarily independent country, and this is why it will continue to seek its allies based on trust and on the idea of a collective, not a block, security in Europe. The CSFR does not own and will not own weapons of mass destruction. The very existence of the Army is justified by the unstable situation in Europe, where there are still large differences in individual countries and new nationalist conflicts arise, or old ones are revived. The number of Czechoslovak Army troops will be held at the lowest possible level for such a defensive capability, which would provide appropriate forces for fending off an eventual inimical act. Apart from this, the Czechoslovak Army should—in this world full of conflicts—represent part of the military forces guaranteeing a collective security. The draft doctrine foresees the gradual professionalization of the Army. On this subject, General Vincenc said that in the majority of developed countries, the armies are 70 to 80 percent professional and that our Army should also be driven in this direction. Professionalization is not an easy matter, however, and it will take some time for the proper conditions to materialize. Among those are: the need to put the Army at a different social level than it is today and to ensure sufficient stimulating social and economic conditions for serving in the professional Army voluntarily and, definitely, for a period longer than two years.

These and other conditions for the transition toward a professional and semi-professional Army should be created by 1993 within the framework of the Army reorganization while military service is still obligatory. As of 1993, the number of Army troops will drop by approximately 60,000 men while the number of professionals will rise.

The transformation of the Army from a focus on quantity to quality should apply not only to personnel, but also to technology.

The economy, however, is not in a position to react to Army needs and to enable the replacement of the weaponry of some units; for example, in accordance with the intentions of changing the offensive character to a defensive one. The Army sees a solution in the modernization of contemporary weapons and systems, of which we have enough, and in searching for alternative solutions.

Team To Make Army Professional Established

AU2407134790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Jul 90 p 8

[CTK report: "For a Professional Army"]

[Text] Prague—The team entrusted with the preparation of the professionalization of the Czechoslovak Army met at its first working meeting yesterday. Specialists from the Federal Ministry of National Defense, the General Staff, military colleges, research workplaces of the Czechoslovak Army, representatives of the Professional Soldiers' Association, and Czechoslovak Army Trade Unions are participating. The team was acquainted with the draft of the new concept for the development of the Czechoslovak Army till 2005. It evaluated experience and suggestions from foreign countries and established principal theoretical and methodical solutions for establishing the professionalism in our Army.

Call for New Secret Service Legalization

AU2407134190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jul 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "A Secret Service Without a Law"]

[Text] Among the federal parliament's obligations is the still unapproved law on establishing the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. Although this institution began operating in February, legally it still has provisional status. Its fundamental mission is acquiring, collecting, and evaluating important information for the protection of the constitutional system and for the defense and security of the state. The use of intelligence-gathering facilities is supposed to be regulated by a special law so that the citizens' constitutional rights cannot be violated. According to the proposed amendment, the office's activity must not be oriented toward ascertaining citizens' political or other philosophies or their religious convictions.

The office's director should be appointed by the CSFR president based on a proposal by the federal government. He is responsible to the Federal Assembly for executing his function. Should the head of this office be a citizen of the Czech Republic, then his deputy has to be a citizen of the Slovak Republic and vice versa. At the moment, Jiri Muller is acting as the office's director.

According to its proposed organizational structure, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy should have one-third of the number of staff in the former State Security, which had approximately 18,000 employees. A counterintelligence innovation is the "East" department, which will operate against Warsaw Pact countries. So far, none of the office's sections is operating completely, a matter which depends, first and foremost, on the new secret service passing through the initial stages of its development—just like our state's other democratic institutions. However, it will not place any demands on the state budget because it will have a

corresponding number of positions and the appropriate financial resources apportioned from the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

Citizens should be informed in detail about this office's operations—as is the case in other democratic countries where the secret service chiefs are obliged to render their accounts to parliament. Without the citizens' trust, it will be impossible to reliably protect the Constitution and democracy, although the people professionally entrusted with this task are fulfilling it as conscientiously as possible.

Kucera on Civic Forum, CPCZ Future

AU2407133590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jul 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Petr Kucera, spokesman of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Dalibor Macha; place and date not given: "Incubator Heats Slowly"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] After Vaclav Havel, Petr Pithart, and Jan Urban, Petr Kucera is the fourth person to be the leading representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center in the eight months of its existence. Already he is more interested in the fall communal election than in summer vacations.

[Macha] In November, when Civic Forum was established, you said that it is a temporary association which would exist only until the free elections were held. It is July now and Civic Forum has fulfilled its main task, to defeat totalitarianism. Nothing indicates, however, that Civic Forum is preparing its departure from the political scene. Did you change your strategy?

[Kucera] We expected that the shaping of the society's political structure would progress much faster. Civic Forum came into existence as a conglomerate of political initiatives and new parties, and we wanted to prepare the ground for their independent entry into political life. This original idea of a political incubator has not yet been entirely realized.

[Macha] Some partners have opted out already.

[Kucera] Yes, for instance, the Christian Democrats, the Social Democracy, or the Democratic Initiative, which has evolved into the Liberal Democratic Party. Nevertheless, we were taken aback by the great aversion of citizens to being politically organized in the traditional structures. I have to admit that we had not expected such antipathy.

[Macha] It is probably mostly an antipathy to the party ways and party discipline, which have the tendency to place themselves above the general civic interests.

[Kucera] Of course. Precisely this is also the reason why parties mostly failed in the elections. People preferred the form of a freely structured movement, and the Civic Forum leadership is now under pressure to preserve this form.

[Macha] For how long?

[Kucera] I believe that for a period of two years and maybe longer, Civic Forum truly is irreplaceable.

[Macha] But that is a change in plan and calls for a reevaluation of the concept.

[Kucera] We are, at present, drafting a plan to reformulate Civic Forum. In this new form, however, the rejection of any kind of a party attitude remains the key factor. We are not going to have [registered] members, a strict vertical structure, or a subordination of the lower elements to the higher ones. It is exactly the opposite with political parties—all these attributes are characteristic for them. [passage omitted in which Kucera rejects the idea that affiliation with Civic Forum opens the door to a career as did membership in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) in the past]

[Macha] When you were forming the governments, you did not select any CPCZ members, not even an expert who would not necessarily represent his party, despite the Czech premier's indicating his willingness.

[Kucera] Our point of departure is a certain respect for the public. We could not excessively depart from election promises that we will not enter a coalition with the CPCZ. Another reason is that the CPCZ has not proved in practice what it professes—namely, that it is a modern, left-wing party.

[Passage omitted in which Kucera speaks of the differentiation process in the CPCZ and the willingness of Civic Forum to cooperate with communists who are credible democrats]

[Macha] In conclusion, let me make a brief comment: Overall, you achieved unprecedented success. I have a feeling, however, that from the very inception of Civic Forum, one only hears positive self-assessments and no self-criticism. Have you never botched anything?

[Kucera] We have made a lot of mistakes, but fewer and smaller than the others. We will not be able to avoid some even in the future. It is impossible to direct a society without errors.

[Macha] Thank you for the interview.

Results, Recommendations of CPSL Plenum

AU2407101690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 July on pages 1 and 2 publishes a report on, as well as documents from, the fifth session of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee, held in Bratislava on 14 July.

On pages 1 and 2, PRAVDA carries a 1,200-word Martin Krno and Peter Misura report entitled "Congress Convened for 20 and 21 October." According to the report, the session discussed the convening of the regular CPSL congress, the CPSL Central Committee's "alternative

proposal" for the Organizational Rules of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the "generalized experience" from the preparation and course of the election campaign. The Bratislava PRAVDA correspondents say that the debate on the preparation of the party congress "centered on the issue of whether or not to change the party's name." The views on this issue are said to have been split. Some speakers reportedly also drew attention to the "activation of the conservative part of party members" after the elections: "Milos Vano, who based his statement on his own experience, said that he was 'sincerely shocked' at how everything turned around after the elections in many CPSL primary organizations. After seven months of silence, the old apparatchiks are imparting wisdom again and are again trying to enforce the old style of work, paralyzing everything progressive which the CPSL has accomplished in recent months."

According to the PRAVDA report, the debate also focused on "democratic centralism as the party's organizational principle." Pavol Kanis, secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, remarked in this context that "one cannot go from one extreme to another. We must not move toward some kind of complete looseness only because of the past tendency to order and control everything from the center." Kanis also complained about the party adversaries' "use of all possible means to obstruct the party's struggle for regaining society's trust." One of these means reportedly was the termination of live television relays from parliament sessions, and their replacement by "cut versions," edited "as it suits our adversaries."

On page 2, PRAVDA carries the 250-word "Resolution of the Fifth CPSL Central Committee Session." The resolution mentions the approval by the CPSL Central Committee of the following changes in its composition: "Vladimir Antal, Frantisek Repan, Gregor Ihnat, Frantisek Svec, and Igor Presperin were released from the CPSL Central Committee at their own request" and "Jaroslav Vician, Peter Ingris, Emil Palkoci, and Pavol Hajduk were co-opted as members of the CPSL Central Committee." The resolution also expresses "deep alarm" at the unveiling of the memorial tablet to Jozef Tiso, president of the Slovak State during World War II, at Banovce and Bebravou.

On the same page, PRAVDA also publishes the 500-word "Resolution of the CPSL Central Committee on Convening a Regular CPSL Congress," which was adopted at the 14 July plenum. According to the resolution, the CPSL Congress will be held in Bratislava on 20 and 21 October 1990. The delegates to the congress are to be elected at district party conferences. Each congress delegate will represent 500 CPSL members. The resolution "recommends" that representatives of individual "platforms" within the party (Democratic Forum of Communists, Marxist Renewal of the Communist Party) also be elected as congress delegates. Deputies for the CPSL in the Slovak National Council and in the Federal Assembly will not have to be elected as delegates at district party conferences, but will participate in the congress automatically. Those members of the CPSL Central Committee who will not be elected as congress delegates will attend the congress as "non-voting participants." The resolution also "recommends" that the Slovak delegates to the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress be elected from among delegates to the CPSL Congress, with each delegate representing 1,000 party members.

Slovak Information, Mass Media Council Appointed

AU2407115390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Jul 90 p 16

[Unattributed report from the "Personalia" column]

[Text] The composition of the Government Council of the Slovak Republic for Information Policy and Mass Media:

Jan Cernogursky, first deputy premier of the Slovak Republic —chairman;
Ladislav Snopko, minister of culture of the Slovak Republic—first deputy chairman;
Jan Comaj, director of the Press and Information Department of the Slovak Government Office—deputy chairman

Members [at large]:

Svetozar Stur, director of CTK in Slovakia;
Roman Kalisky, director of Slovak Television;
Vladimir Stefko, director of Slovak Radio;
Emil Fornay, editor in chief of Documentary Film;
Juraj Veres, editor in chief of the daily NARODNA OBRODA;
Milos Nemecek, chairman of the coordinating committee and editor
in chief of the central press in Slovakia;
Peter Zeman, chairman of the Slovak Journalists Syndicate;
Jozef Darmo, director of the Journalist Research Institute;
Lubos Sefcak, representative of the Department of Journalism,
Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius Univ., Bratislava;
Roman Paldan, director of the Department of Trade Activities at
the Ministry of Industry of the Slovak Republic;
Peter Jachim, chairman of the Mass Communication Media Employees
Trade Union;
Rudolf Krc, chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office;
Ivan Zary, deputy director of the Press and Information;
Department of the Slovak Government Office—
secretary;

One delegated representative for each political party or movement represented in the Slovak National Council (Public Against Violence movement, Christian Democratic Movement, Democratic Party, Slovak National Party, Slovak Communist Party, Green Party, Egyutteles) (Names of the mentioned representatives will be announced by the Slovak Culture Parliament and by the political parties and movements later, and we will publish them immediately upon announcement)

Pithart on Czech Economic Reform, Foreign Ties

AU2407115390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Jul 90 p 2

["(AA)"-signed report: "Reform Without Unnecessary Hazards"]

[Text] A report on Premier P. Pithart's recent visit to Bavaria and issues associated with the Czech Government's activity and with its policy statement were on the agenda of yesterday's news conference. However, something else was also discussed....

Understandably, the discussion got around to today's No. 1 problem—gasoline. As Petr Pithart stated, thanks to yesterday's panic alone, supplies of this fuel have dropped from 34 kilotons to 26 kilotons. The situation, which we cannot do anything about because the USSR cut oil supplies without any warning, will be dealt with speedily by the federal government. The Czechoslovak Army has also released gasoline supplies from its own stores.

The answer to a question about the differences in opinion between the Czech and CSFR Governments on the course of economic reform was interesting. According to Premier Pithart, the difference is that the federal government makes its considerations on a macroeconomic scale, while the Czech Government tries to see beyond the economic aspects—social, ecological, the impact on enterprises, and so on. Therefore, it is asserting an accelerated but "guaranteed anti-collision" reform; that is, a more cautious reform without unnecessary hazards. Petr Pithart compared this to preparing cars for a race—the Czech Government does not want to delay the race; it merely wants to ensure that, prior to the start, the cars have their brakes checked and have enough gasoline. It is not asserting any concept of its own, but it is participating in shaping the federal government's concept.

In connection with his recent visit to Bavaria, he discussed the foreign activities which the Czech Government intends to undertake. P. Pithart sees the government's role in this sphere lying in the implementation of a "regional European" policy. Our continent will change into regions following its unification. This means that the regions, mainly neighboring ones, which establish specific contacts with each other will communicate; for example, Bohemia with Bavaria. Other regions have also shown interest in cooperating with them, for example, Polish Silesia, Catalonia, Italian Trentino, and even California.

First and foremost, Petr Pithart sees a solution to the Sudeten German issue—which he discussed in Bavaria with F. Neubauer, spokesman for the Sudeten German landsmanschaft—in the development of good-neighborly relations without state interference. The proposed Sumava International Park, in whose swift establishment the Bavarian side has shown great interest, should also contribute to the development of good future relations in border regions. However, neither zoning nor the overall concept have yet been completely resolved on our side; there are also problems with the renewal of communities in the border zone since there are sub-sized electricity distribution systems here, and there is not enough money for their construction. The same applies to the proposed Prague-Nuremberg highway.

Apropos the competency law, which is fraught with many arguments, P. Pithart said that it will certainly not succeed in resolving all the problems at its first attempt; so far, only the foundation stones have been laid. This also applies to the self- administration arrangement for towns and villages, which has to be supported by a new tax law to guarantee that a minimum of 50 percent of tax levies stay in the community.

P. Pithart also aired his views on the foreign activity of some Slovak politicians, activity which, in his opinion, should not be overemphasized. According to the signals from Slovakia, the local nationalist movement now has much less support than the election results indicated. This is obviously due to some recent "samples" of this movement's ideas for Slovakia's future.

New Czech Government Minister Appointed

AU2407132090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Jul 90 p 2

[CTK report: "New Ministers"]

[Text] Prague—At its session yesterday [20 July], the Czech National Council Presidium released Pavel Rychetsky from his post as Czech Republic prosecutor general at his own request on account of his recent appointment as a CSFR deputy premier. The new Czech Republic prosecutor general is Ludvik Brunner. In connection with the approved competency law and in accordance with Paragraph 122 Article 1 Letter a) of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the Presidium entrusted Karel Dyba with managing the Ministry for Economic Policy and Development, Tomas Jezek with managing the Ministry for the Administration of National Property and its Privatization, and Miroslav Gregr with managing the Ministry of Engineering and Electrical Engineering. It withdrew Bohumil Kubat from managing the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and entrusted him with managing the Ministry of Agriculture; it withdrew Bohumil Tichy from managing the People's Control Committee and entrusted him with managing the Ministry for State Control; and it withdrew Frantisek Vlasak, Czech Republic deputy premier, from managing the Czech Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development. All the appointees are members of the Czech Republic Government.

New Fire-Fighting Robot 'Tank' Displayed

LD2407135190 Prague CTK in English 1327 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 24 (CTK)—A patented universal mobile fire tank "Spot-55" was displayed by the Military Research

Institute 010 at Vyskov, South Moravia, today, before a four-piece prototype series is produced next year.

These vehicles are designed for the Czechoslovak chemical industry, the nuclear power plant at Temelin (South Bohemia), lignite mines, etc. Also foreign customers from Egypt, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates have shown interest.

The "Spot-55" fire tank is designed to extinguish expanding forest fires, and fires of ammunition depots and chemical plants. It can work 30 minutes in the heat of 600 degrees Celsius, among burning chemicals and in radioactive contaminated areas, and resists blasts. It can be radio-operated to the distance of 3,000 metres. The tank carries 15 cubic metres of extinguisher liquid, applied with help of two water cannons.

When reviewing the patent files of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and West Germany, no such fire vehicle operating a caterpillar undercarriage was found.

Gottwald Monument Removed in Bratislava

AU2407132190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 23 July on page 2, under the headline "Returning to the City its Face," carries a 250-word correspondent's report on the start of the dismantling of the Klement Gottwald monument in Bratislava's Freedom Square. Because of the "technically demanding nature" of the operation (the monument weighs 250 tonnes), the dismantling will take about two months. Some parts of the monument are to be put into the depository of the Bratislava City Gallery.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 30 July, reportage concerning German unification will not be published under the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC section of the East Europe DAILY REPORT. In order to provide information on the topic in one location for the benefit of our readers, material from the GDR and FRG, as well as other media will be found in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Liberals Resign as Accession Debate Continues

SPD Reasons for Opposing De Maiziere

AU2407135990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21-22 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Wolfgang Thierse, chairman of the GDR Social Democratic Party of Germany, by Axel Knack on 20 July; place not given: "Thierse: Does the Christian Democratic Union Chairman Plan To Destroy the Coalition?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Knack] In the current discussion on the unification treaty, the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] considers the way in which the GDR will accede to the FRG under Article 23 particularly important....

[Thierse] Yes, this article is supposed to regulate the legal and other conditions of the GDR's accession. In this context, we consider the election law decisive, the way the all-German parliament will be elected. We are now in a difficult phase. It is my impression that the fronts have hardened. To be quite honest, I do not understand Lothar de Maiziere's motives for insisting so radically on the position of separate election areas and separate elections.

[Knack] His motives are obvious, are they not?

[Thierse] I think the determination with which he sticks to his position is aimed at the vital interests of the Liberals and the Social Democrats, and is also opposed to what the majority of the people in the FRG and—I assume—in the GDR think, including large sections of his own group. I cannot but consider this attitude as being extremely hostile to the coalition, and I have to assume that Lothar de Maiziere does not want this coalition any longer. Rather, he wants to bring about a breakup of the coalition, and then hold the Social Democrats and the Liberals responsible for this breakup. We may even assume that he wants to be relieved of the responsibilities and obligations to which we have jointly committed ourselves. Whoever keeps so resolutely to a position, which is only his own and that of a few other gentlemen, must answer the question as to whether he intends to bring about the breakup of the coalition, so as to be relieved of his burdens.

[Knack] So much for Mr. De Maiziere. However, the election issue also involves other matters as well....

[Thierse] Let me interrupt you. BERLINER ZEITUNG has always claimed quite maliciously that our only motives are election tactics. Let me therefore mention our motives in the order of importance. First, it is a foregone conclusion that a common parliament can only be elected in common elections. Anything else would be absurd. Second, I am in favor of the GDR's accession prior to the elections, because that would make parliamentary elections the first act in an all-German state. That would be a really democratic beginning. Third, I realize that the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] intends to split the left by insisting on separate election areas and different percentage clauses to restrict its work in the united Germany, and thus to strengthen the conservatives. On the other hand, the CDU probably also wants to give the German Social Union a chance for the all-German parliament. However, this is only the third reason for me to reject Lothar de Maiziere's proposal. The other two reasons are more important to me. [passage omitted]

SPD Unexpectedly Supports De Maiziere

LD2407123690 Hamburg DPA in German 1109 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere today received unexpected support from the Social Democratic Party [SPD] for his controversial position on the date of the GDR's accession to the FRG. SPD Deputy Reinhard Hoeppner, vice president of the People's Chamber, declared the demands of the prime minister justified. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Meets SPD, Liberal Leaders

LD2407124590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1156 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon at the House of the People's Chamber, Prime Minister Lothar De Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] held a talk with SPD [Social Democratic Party] chief Wolfgang Thierse, SPD Parliamentary Group Chairman Richard Schroeder, and the parliamentary business manager of the Liberals, Conrad-Michael Lehment. Journalists, who were not admitted to the meeting, assume that it was decided in which order the prime minister would address the two parliamentary groups threatening to leave the coalition.

It emerged that at 1400 Lothar de Maiziere will attend the meeting of the Liberals parliamentary group, which has moved from the House of the Parliamentarians to the House of the People's Chamber. Afterward, at 1430, he is to meet with the SPD parliamentary group.

Liberals' Ortleb Foresees Compromise

LD2407124190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1215 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb, parliamentary group chairman for the Liberals, claims to see a compromise in the coalition squabble over the GDR's accession date to the FRG. "Providing it is constitutional to hold uniform elections in the two parts of Germany, then

the Liberals would be prepared to accept a compromise, irrespective of the accession date," he said before his meeting with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

De Maiziere Unable To Sway Parties

LD2407145190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"I have not been able to convince the parties," De Maiziere said after the one-hour meeting with the Liberals and Social Democratic Party [SDP] parliamentary groups in East Berlin this afternoon. According to the prime minister, there are still differing positions on the elections, and solutions will have to be found in a democratic way. People will have to accept that there is a possibility that they could be outvoted, although they could also be convinced by prudent arguments. SPD Party Chief Thierse said after the meeting that the basic positions of the two sides were still very far apart. They have not even come "one centimeter" closer. Apart from the fact that the prime minister is prepared to talk, there is nothing essentially new, Thierse said.

The parliamentary groups will continue their discussions in separate sessions.

SPD Deputies Favor Resigning

LD2407160390 Hamburg DPA in German 1509 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In the Social Democratic Party [SPD] People's Chamber group there is a large majority in favor of leaving the government coalition. This emerged this afternoon from a poll of the parliamentary group, which has 88 members.

It was reported on the sidelines of the group's meeting that the SPD parliamentary group voted by a large majority to leave the coalition if De Maiziere fails to move clearly toward the SPD's position on the question of electoral procedures and accession.

Liberals Quit Coalition

LD2407162190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberals are leaving the governing coalition. The prime minister and the political forces supporting him, within and outside the GDR, bear responsibility for the collapse of this coalition and the consequences. This was stated by parliamentary group leader Professor Rainer Ortleb during the group's meeting this evening.

Liberals' Statement on Resignation

LD2407172690 Hamburg DPA in German 1634 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Statement issued by the League of Free Democrats upon quitting the government coalition on 24 July; place not given]

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—We Liberals promised our voters to do everything in our power to bring about unity through all-German elections this year. As we see it, all-German elections can only be elections that take place in all parts of Germany on the basis of equal electoral rights. That is indispensable in our view. A further postponement of the declaration of intent on accession to the area of validity of the FRG Basic Law, on the day before the elections at the latest, will result in enormous economic damage for the GDR, since Western investors now require clarity for their investment decisions. The advantages of hesitating claimed by Prime Minister de Maiziere are, by contrast, insignificant. In contrast to the prime minister, we proceed on the basis that in the unification treaty the FRG will not act against the basic interests of GDR citizens.

The prime minister is at this moment using every means, including misleading the public, to evade a political decision. The accommodation the prime minister seems to be hinting at vis-a-vis the media, is in reality intransigent adherence to his position of not allowing truly all-German elections, which also means putting into doubt the 2 December Bundestag elections, which were agreed upon by the coalition.

The prime minister's bewildering harmony with the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] is intolerable for us Liberals. His stance has brought about a voting alliance with that party, as a result of which the bases of the coalition, which for us has a great deal to do with good faith, have been destroyed.

Although we have clearly signalled to the prime minister both in the coalition committee and in parliament that the pain barrier has been reached, he continues his tactical line.

The prime minister makes it impossible for the Liberals parliamentary group to continue the coalition. The responsibility for the collapse of this coalition and the consequences resulting from this are borne by the prime minister and the political forces backing him inside and outside the GDR.

We will remain a parliamentary group that feels committed to its voters and that wishes in the opposition, too, to serve the people and only the people.

SPD To Remain in Coalition

LD2407164790 Hamburg DPA in German 1623 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] The SPD [Social Democratic Party] does not for the time being intend to join the Liberals in leaving the GDR coalition. It is being examined whether there might be a last chance of achieving a solution to the controversial accession question, SPD party leader Wolfgang Thierse said this evening. The Liberals had apparently not been prepared to do this. For the SPD, however, the exploration of such a last chance remains important.

Thierse announced that the parliamentary group would adopt a statement containing its exact demands. In the statement the demand will also be made for the controversial question to be solved in the next few days. The Liberals had "been in more of a hurry" with their step. Nevertheless, the SPD had the political wish to explore every last opportunity of achieving a solution. The Liberals' withdrawal will certainly influence the course of the discussion in the group, however.

De Maiziere on Liberals' Treaty 'Breach'

LD2407173590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberals' move is, in the words of the Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere, a clear breach of the coalition treaty. They had decided in favor of election tactics and against the interests of the people in the GDR, said a statement of the head of government on the resignation of the Liberals from the coalition in Berlin on Tuesday evening.

"The Liberals, which preferred to communicate to me through a news agency that it was leaving the coalition, has done this in spite of the offer of a bridge, which was to lead to the solution of the conflict today." The Liberals are showing once again that they cannot be relied on in difficult circumstances. They wash their hands of the responsibility to conduct politics for the people in the GDR.

The coalition agreement of 12 April 1990, the prime minister said, clearly described the political aims that the coalition wants to realize together. The people of the GDR would have no sympathy for the Liberals move. This crumbling in the face of the problems will not prevent the government from continuing its policy objectively, consistently, and in a way that focuses on the aim of German unity.

SPD To Make 'Eleventh Hour' Move

LD2407175490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 24 Jul 90

["SPD To Decide on Friday About Leaving Coalition"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SPD [Social Democratic Party] parliamentary group will announce its withdrawal from the coalition if its expectations are not satisfied by a clear decision by the prime minister. This was revealed in a statement after its session in East Berlin on Tuesday evening.

The People's Chamber group of the SPD decided, accepting by a great majority a recommendation from the party and group executive, to leave the governing coalition if no agreement is found on the issue of accession to the area of validity of the Basic Law under Article 23 and of the electoral procedure for all-German elections through concessions by the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] group. It was expected that the CDU group would make a relevant decision in the joint German Unity committee. The Social Democrats want to make an eleventh hour attempt within the coalition.

SPD Lists Coalition Demands

LD2407194490 Hamburg DPA in German 1746 GMT 24 Jul 90

["Text of SPD statement"—DPA headline]

[Statement issued by the Social Democratic Party parliamentary floor group; place and date not given]

[Text] Berlin (DPA) "Our country faces difficult problems in implementing the monetary, economic, and social union, in the transition from the plan to the market economy. The people are swept along by hopes, but also by great concerns. Determined, shared government action is needed. But the situation in the coalition has become intolerable. We see with consternation that the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is more and more unilaterally exploiting the work of the government for party political purposes. There is increasingly absent on the part of the CDU and the prime minister a readiness to seek consensus in the work of the government, above all in the preparation of negotiations on the unification treaty.

"We can only continue the coalition if the positions held by the SPD can be brought into the work of the government on the basis of equal rights, particularly into the negotiations on the unification treaty. This applies particularly to the prospects for a new all- German constitution, the safeguarding of the property rights of GDR citizens (land reform, protection of ownership, and beneficial rights in respect of real estate and housing), the securing of the property and financial basis for the work of localities and laender, the maintenance of the time ruling [on abortion], and our legislation on civilian service.

"The securing of equality in election conditions and of a genuinely shared quality in the elections to the first all-German parliament are for us indispensible. That means that the same entry conditions must apply to all the deputies and parties represented in the parliament. German unity should begin with the democratic act of a really shared election of a shared parliament! That demands:

"—A unified electoral area;
"—equal electoral procedures;
"—and a threshold applying to the whole electoral area.

"The SPD People's Chamber group has, after a detailed discusion, and following the recommendation of the party and parliamentary group executive, decided to leave the coalition if no agreement is reached on the question of accession under Article 23 to the area of validity of the Basic Law and in the procedures for all-German elections, through accomodation on the part of the CDU parliamentary group.

"We expect the CDU parliamentary group (GDR) to make possible a corresponding decision in the joint Committee for German Unity.

"We understand the decision of the Liberals to leave the coalition, but we want to make a final attempt within the coalition to meet our responsibility to the citizens of our country.

"The parliamentary group will declare the withdrawal of the SPD from the coalition on this coming Friday if our expectation is not fulfilled by a clear decision of the prime minister."

De Maiziere Certain of Chamber Support

LD2407194190 Hamburg DPA in German 1821 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] intends to continue his government even if the SPD [Social Democratic Party] follows the Liberals in declaring their withdrawal from the coalition. He told DPA in East Berlin this evening that he does not believe that the laws on German unity will be endangered in the People's Chamber. De Maiziere stressed: "I would like to see the party that—when it comes to passing laws on German unity—opposes them in the People's Chamber."

Government Spokesman Matthias Gehler announced that the prime minister will take part for two hours in a cabinet session tomorrow in East Berlin and then, as planned, fly to Austria. De Maiziere intends to be back in East Berlin on Thursday.

Gehler could not confirm that there would be an early meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Austria tomorrow. However, this evening observers in East Berlin assumed that talks would probably take place tomorrow at Kohl's holiday resort on the Wolfgangsee in Austria.

De Maiziere Suggests Election Panel

LD2407200190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1909 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere said that it is conceivable that a body of constitutional experts and international lawyers from both German states could be brought into the process of solving the complicated issues of the procedure for the first all-German elections. The election procedure would then have to be agreed upon in the treaty between the two sides.

In an interview on GDR television, the head of government said on Tuesday evening [24 July]: "I am still basing my argument on the fact that the People's Chamber cannot make binding decisions on things that are to be decided by the German Lower House, just as, vice-versa, the German Lower House cannot make binding decisions on matters that lie within the People's Chamber's area of responsibility." This question, which is very difficult under constitutional and international law, has to be solved in an "unemotional" atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Bergmann-Pohl Urges Compromise

LD2507040890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2233 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The president of the People's Chamber, Dr. Sabine Sergmann-Pohl, acting GDR head of state, has appealed to the Social Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Union, Liberals, and German Social Union parliamentary groups on her official visit to Switzerland to jointly bring to completion the historic task of German unity. In a telegram to the parliamentary groups, which was sent on Tuesday night/Wednesday morning [24-25 July], and was also sent to Prime Minister de Maiziere for his information, she calls for moderation and a willingness for compromise in joint action. [passage omitted]

Liberal Ministers Viehweger, Preiss To Resign

LD2507075690 Hamburg DPA in German 0708 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—The two Liberal ministers in Lothar de Maiziere's cabinet, Axel Viehweger (construction) and Manfred Preiss (local affairs), will resign. Liberal press spokesman Wulf Oehme made this announcement this morning. Both ministers supported the parliamentary group's decision to leave the coalition.

Viehweger, who is on vacation in Austria, was informed of the Liberals' withdrawal from the coalition by telephone. He will return to East Berlin shortly. The two ministers will discuss their intentions to leave the Cabinet in a meeting with the prime minister.

The Liberals announced that Viehweger and Preiss will try to ensure that their work in the ministries will continue as before.

Head of government De Maiziere has reaffirmed, following the liberals' withdrawal from the coalition, that he will continue to lead his government if the Social Democratic Party [SPD] also withdraws from the coalition. The head of government stressed that he does not believe that, in the People's Chamber, Liberals and Social Democrats will vote against legislation relating to German unity. [passage omitted]

Labor and Social Affairs Minister Regine Hildebrandt (SPD) declared that she will leave office if the Social Democrats withdraw from the coalition. Speaking to journalists, she demanded that the prime minister show that he is prepared for compromise on the questions of electoral procedure and accession. [passage omitted]

Ortleb on Unification, Party Merger Prospects

AU2407111390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 14-15 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with League of Free Democrats Chairman Rainer Ortleb by Frank Mangelsdorf; place and date not given: "Setting Signs in the East With Germany"]

[Excerpts] [Mangelsdorf] The People's Chamber group of the Liberals has advocated accession of the GDR to the FRG before 1 December. Is this step not premature?

[Ortleb] Developments in our country constantly make changes concerning the timetable necessary. On 17 June we were still opposed to a corresponding decision by the People's Chamber, but now we realize that 2 December might be too late. Before individual laender, such as Thuringia and Saxony, declare their accession to the FRG, one should try not to complicate the legal situation too much, but to strive for an accession as one country. Otherwise, the two-plus-four talks might quickly turn into "1.4-plus-0.6-plus-four talks." [passage omitted]

[Mangelsdorf] Do you consider it possible that the GDR's Liberals will become second-class Liberals after unification?

[Ortleb] I do not foresee that. The rank and file will immediately love each other. This will partly be the case among the leadership. However, a certain disagreement resulting from earlier years has to be eliminated here.

[Mangelsdorf] If you were asked, would you agree to become chairman of an all-German liberal party?

[Ortleb] Yes, but only if I were asked.

[Mangelsdorf] Who is your favorite candidate?

[Ortleb] This is difficult for me to say. Genscher and Mischnik are figures who promote integration among the party. I do not see anybody else, but the two figures I mentioned are not available. Thus, one must look for persons who are able to lead the party. Graf Lambsdorff is certainly the best solution here. This is the truth.

[Mangelsdorf] What about the financial situation of the League of Free Democrats

[Ortleb] We have no exact figures. At the moment we do not yet know the results of the work of the government commission installed by the People's Chamber to investigate the assets of the old parties. These results are, of course, important for our financial situation. The only thing I can tell you is that after the currency conversion, there are DM13.5 million in our account. In view of our obligations, such as social benefits for our employees, the situation is tight.

[Mangelsdorf] What coalition partners would be acceptable for you after the unification congress?

[Ortleb] The Liberals, with an economic policy aimed at solidity, are interested in a partner who does not overlook the social aspect, but who is also aware of the price of social benefits. Experience has shown that the socialists usually call for benefits first, and think about the money that is needed to pay for them later. Thus, the CDU has turned out to be a more solid partner in the GDR on this issue. [passage omitted]

[Mangelsdorf] What should be the capital of the new state, and what should it be called?

[Ortleb] The state should be called Germany. In the Constitution it might be formulated this way: "Germany is a federal republic." As far as the future capital is concerned, I am clearly in favor of Berlin. However, the capital of this country can only be understood as a representative center of this federal republic, not as a power center. We must quickly get rid of this false idea. We have a great responsibility toward our neighbors in the east, including the Soviet Union. These countries expect this Germany not to withdraw to West Europe, but to turn to East Europe as well. A decision in favor of Bonn would make this impossible. In the same way we receive economic aid today, we should feel obliged to pass this help on to our Eastern neighbors one day.

DBD Deputies Announce Intention To Join SPD

LD2407102990 Hamburg DPA in German 1001 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Three deputies of the GDR Peasants' Party (DBD) announced today that they will join the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. Thus the government of Prime Mininister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] is threatened with losing its absolute majority in the People's Chamber, if the SPD and the Liberals leave the coalition.

The three of a total of nine DBD deputies object to their party leadership's intention to merge with the CDU. Speaking to journalists, they explained their decision with differences of view about the CDU's agricultural policy. The timing of their joining the SPD is unrelated to the current coalition crisis. [passage omitted]

Alliance 90, Greens Oppose SPD Alliance

AU2407153490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21-22 Jul 90 p 2

[BZ report: "Debate in the Alliance on Offer of Ticket Places"]

[Text] Berlin—Baerbel Bohley, Ingrid Koeppe, and the working committee of the spokesmen's council of the republic reacted with clear criticism to the information that members of the Alliance 90/Greens People's Chamber Group are conducting negotiations on an offer by the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] to give them slots on the election ticket in the all-German elections.

In a statement signed by Bohley and Koeppe, the acceptance of the SPD's offer is seen as a violation of grassroots principles. The position of Alliance 90 is to be taken to a new German parliament, but not at all costs,

the statement says. In this context, the SPD's joint responsibility for the government policy and the political function of the five-percent clause is pointed out. The latter serves to eliminate new ideas and prevents "the old party stench from being stirred up by a fresh breeze."

The working committee of the GDR spokesmen's council stresses that the New Forum deputies are increasingly failing to communicate with the grass-roots groups. Neither the working committee nor the spokesmen's council of the republic or the delegates conference have been briefed, it was stated.

Berlin Parties To Form 'Election Party'

AU2407155390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Jul 90 p 7

[ADN report: "Joint 'Election Party'"]

[Text] The West Berlin Alternative List (AL) and East Berlin citizens movements are planning to found a joint party for the elections on 2 December. According to BERLINER MORGENPOST on Friday [20 July], AL Spokesman Stephan Noe said that by founding this new party, the AL wanted to show that its political partners in the GDR would not be absorbed by the Western party.

Noe said that a commission has already been set up, members of which are, in addition to the AL, East Berlin representatives of the United Left, the Greens, the Alliance '90, and the Independent Women's League. He added that this commission is discussing the legal form of the party organization and a common election program.

Noe said that with the founding of this "election party," the idea of the AL having its own candidate in East Berlin has been dropped.

Eppelmann Solicits Views on Military Traditions

AU2407184990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jul 90 p 1

[Letter from Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND; date not given: "A New Image of Military Traditions—Correct or Not?"]

[Text] East Berlin—With the swearing-in ceremony under the state flag, the soldiers of the National People's Army are experiencing the culmination of their military service this month. By deciding to set this event for the entire Army on the anniversary of 20 July 1944—the day when German officers and politicians tried to eliminate the Hitler regime and to thus end the murderous World War II—we at the same time tried to express our changed understanding of military tradition and to promote the soldier's need for a new awareness of traditions.

The majority of the soldiers and of the noncommissioned and commissioned officers agrees with this concern. But they do not do so without any reservations. The most important reservation is expressed by the question: Do we not have other problems at the moment?

Certainly, we do! I am among those who do not deny this in any way—quite the contrary.

The first state treaty with the FRG, in particular the monetary union, and the hard mark has been the predominant topic in the GDR this year. Now it can be predicted that the unification treaty and the path toward Germany's unity will take this place.

This is an unprecedented historical development. At the same time, this is a great challenge to the understanding of the meaning of military traditions, to one's personal attitude toward them. The question is which ones should we keep. The 20th of July 1944 is an approach to this and—as I hope—a good offer for discussion. Your opinion is desired!

It is desired even more so since the problem of the traditions at the same time pointedly poses the question about the meaning, or rather the meaningless nature, of past military ceremonies.

Quite a number of opinions on this have reached the Ministry of Disarmament and Defense. If one tried to apply them to a scale, the range would reach from absolute rejection, even condemnation, to emphatic agreement with modified traditions.

By holding the swearing-in ceremony on 20 July we have decided for the latter.

Correct—or: not in this way—or: not at all? This will be your judgment, for which we wait and which we would like to take into consideration.

Opinions on this are to be sent to the Ministry of Disarmament and Defense, PF 68622, Strausberg, 1260.

NVA Adviser Bahr Views Army's Future

AU2507093890 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 23 Jul 90 p 1

[Interview with Egon Bahr, adviser to Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann, by Oliver Michalsky in Strausberg; date not given: "United German Armies?"]

[Text] [Michalsky] How do you assess the fact that the National People's Army [NVA] has commemorated the anniversary of 20 July 1944 [the assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler] for the first time in this way?

[Bahr] To me this day represents a sort of anticipated unity of the future German Army. This day—20 July 1944—represents a tradition that both existing Armies can productively continue.

[Michalsky] Do you like military ceremonies?

[Bahr] Not normally, but I think the ceremony today was very clean, a bit Prussian, but without a negative touch. I do not know whether the melody of the "Good Companion" was played in the GDR earlier. To hear it now, has deeply moved me.

[Michalsky] Have you found "good companions" as the minister's adviser in Strausberg?

[Bahr] Yes. I have already met many soldiers. I talked to them and can understand many of them, their lives, their troubles.

[Michalsky] For how long will the NVA exist, do you think?

[Bahr] Until German unity has been completed.

[Michalsky] Do you believe that there will be an argument between Eppelmann and Stoltenberg; there are differences of opinion...?

[Bahr] Such differences are normal. However, the framework of the process is clear. In the end, there will be one German Army. For the moment, the German forces on GDR territory need time to reform themselves so they can become an equal part of the German Army.

* Wolf Interviewed on Stasi, Terrorist Links

90GE0212A Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 6 Jul 90 p 12

[Interview with Markus Wolf, former head of the Ministry for State Security Main Administration for Intelligence, by Olaf Ihlau in East Berlin; date not given: "I'm Not Going To Put My Agents' Heads on the Chopping Block"; first paragraph is SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] The former head of the intelligence department of the GDR Ministry for State Security, Markus Wolf, gave the following interview to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in East Berlin:

[Ihlau] Mr. Wolf, you have energetically denied that your intelligence department had anything to do with the RAF [Red Army Faction]. Didn't an intelligence service acting in the center of the East-West conflict also have to be informed about players and events on the international terrorist scene?

[Wolf] As the question is put, I have to deny it. There was general interest from the allied states and their services in being informed about the terrorist scene in order to protect themselves. At what point those responsible—and the responsibilities are well known by now—realized that it was not possible to build on this terrorism in the sense of using it, that I can't say. But the insight surely occurred that the dangers connected with this scene cannot be cleanly separated between East and West. From this aspect there had also been threats and plots against socialist countries.

[Ihlau] What was the reaction to that?

[Wolf] This is why there was coordination between the responsible security areas in antiterrorism matters. But for us as an intelligence service it was necessary in the interest of our own security to stay as far away as possible from this scene. We knew, of course, that this scene was the focus of all the defensive and police efforts from the other side, and that it was also strongly infiltrated by agents from the BND [Federal German Intelligence Service] and other secret services. You never knew with whom you were dealing. For that reason the RAF and other terrorist organizations on NATO territory were not among other targets.

[Ihlau] After ferreting out the RAF veterans in the GDR some people already thought you were the secret string-puller behind the terrorists.

[Wolf] I'm entirely clear of that, I had nothing to do with it. It is already known through General Neiber's declaration that the responsibility lay with Department XXII for Antiterrorism. But I do feel it very troublesome when after all the headlines many people still connect the name Wolf with the RAF and terrorism. There are enough legends which circulate around my person. The reputation that the Wolf has now also concealed the terrorists under his sheep's clothing, I really don't need that.

[Ihlau] Why is all this coming out only now, when apparently not a few involved on all sides have known about it for years?

[Wolf] Even I, with experience in conspiracies, think the fact that it remained a secret for so long is almost a miracle. Had I been asked about it at that time, I would have opposed it with all decisiveness. Not only out of fundamental rejection of the individual terror, but simply because it would have appeared unthinkable to me to keep something like that secret, and because the political consequences for the GDR nation and its policy of detente would have been devastating.

[Ihlau] But the SED [Socilist Unity Party of Germany] and the Stasi [State Security Service] had constant contacts at least with Palestinian organizations, which have admitted to terrorist attacks. Arafat often secretly visited East Berlin; cancer-stricken PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] terrorist Wali Haddat died in an East Berlin hospital. You didn't know anything about all that?

[Wolf] I can't put it like that. Of course, I knew quite a lot about that. Only: With the PLO, as we understood it, which as a national liberation movement was also officially recognized by the UN, there were politically legitimized relationships and state treaties, which covered a broad spectrum of issues. One of them was cooperation in the field of security, counterespionage and intelligence services. South Yemen was the Arab country in which the GDR was most heavily represented with its entire security service. In Syria, Iraq, and other states, on the other hand, there was cooperation only in certain areas. But I think I can say from personal knowledge: There was never any cooperation in terrorist actions that were possibly promoted or influenced by our services.

[Ihlau] The internationally most wanted terrorist Carlos was able to spend some time in Hungary in the early eighties and thanked party chief Kadar for that. Did Carlos have reasons to be thankful to the head of the GDR as well?

[Wolf] Certainly not. I know from hearsay and talks with Hungarian colleagues that Carlos could be grateful to the Hungarians for overlooking certain things. They didn't want to expose themselves to any danger in order to get rid of the man.

[Ihlau] Was the GDR just as magnanimous?

[Wolf] I vaguely remember that there was a threat from the Carlos group against our Paris embassy, unless certain things were permitted. I don't know what routes Carlos used. But I have to assume that the GDR, that is to say Berlin-Schoenefeld, played a role in this. But I don't have any personal knowledge of this.

[Ihlau] You never met Carlos?

[Wolf] Never.

[Ihlau] You also don't have any idea where he might be today?

[Wolf] I don't even know if he is alive.

[Ihlau] In any event, the Carlos episode and the fact that East Berlin-Schoenefeld served terrorists as a transit point makes earlier assertions that the East Bloc states have had nothing to do with international terrorism appear rather implausible.

[Wolf] From that point of view—yes.

[Ihlau] Even when taking into account that intelligence services work according to the principle of establishing compartments, it is difficult to understand that the leadership level of the Ministry for State Security, to which you also belonged as deputy minister, should not have known anything about all these things.

[Wolf] There was no leadership with discussions among colleagues. Minister Mielke felt so much that he was the sole head of the ministry that he didn't even stick to the usual rules of dealing with one another and also didn't allow discussion of fundamental questions. But even if that had been the case, I believe it is impossible to imagine that such hot topics as housing the RAF or Carlos were discussed at such a level. From my position, for example: Before the Guillaume case or that sort of thing, none of the deputy ministers knew anything, even Mielke didn't know everything. In these matters the conspiracy, the uppermost law of activity in this ministry, generally held up.

[Ihlau] But you also had spectacular break-ins and losses, such as the defection of 1st Lt. Werner Stiller to the West in early 1979. How did conspiracy and counterespionage work then?

[Wolf] At the time that was a terrible event for intelligence. But except for the seven people for whom he was personally responsible, Stiller actually couldn't have revealed anything else. But when he got up enough courage to break into his division head's secretary's cabinet, in order to get hold of a pass for the Friedrichsstrasse railway station and leave, on this occasion he also took all of the lists of information which had gone through the entire department.

[Ihlau] Then that didn't cost you just seven agents?

[Wolf] The loss was enormous. Purely for security concerns we had to let about 30 people go.

[Ihlau] According to estimates by the BND, agents of the GDR obtained about 80 percent of the knowledge in the political, economic and technical areas of the NATO states for the East Bloc. Is that a correct or flattering evaluation for you?

[Wolf] I can't confirm that so easily since, for the reason of conspiracy mentioned earlier, I am not able to evaluate the efficiency and the genuine information inventory of the other services. But in all probability this is a projection that comes from exposed agents. So it is possible. After all, we had two advantages: The fact that NATO's most important secrets were present on German territory through this unbelievable concentration of forces, as well as of the political representations. My effort also focused on preventing, if possible, our service from dissipating all over the world, like the services of the other socialist countries. Thus, we were able to concentrate on the NATO region and in the case of the FRG didn't have to overcome either a language or an emotional barrier.

There was also a second fact: Through the Hallstein doctrine and its effects, for a very long time we had no official representations in the countries that were important to us. We were therefore forced to use the illegal method, which is perhaps the more effective one. I have never thought much of intelligence work from embassies which are under strict security control.

[Ihlau] So for that you also signed up West German diplomats among your 50 to 90 top agents in the FRG, of which you have now spoken in an interview.

[Wolf] Well, I probably didn't express it precisely enough. Whether I said 30 or 70 doesn't matter. The only question is what is meant by that....

[Ihlau] ...then who was your top man?

[Wolf] Top people were those who held secret clearance level one, that is to say with access to top-secret documents. But also people like Guillaume, who were in closest contact with leading personalities. Their proximity—see the results of the Guillaume case—might be of such political explosiveness that one could say: If they now remained and continued to be active, that would mean a real danger for the legitimate security interests of the FRG, or after the December of the united Germany, where they would still remain.

[Ihlau] For whom could these agents remain active—for the Soviets?

[Wolf] For whomever. But time is running out, which I regret. But if these former colleagues of my ministry are to be pushed into the social wasteland, as now happened with the new pensioner regulation....

[Ihlau] ...your pay was also reduced to 990 FRG marks [DM]?

[Wolf] ...I haven't yet gotten the word, but that's probably the case. But since I write books, it's not quite as bad for me as for others. But people who have a high level of education, who are thought to have high professionalism and experience in this specific area which is to remain unrecognized—why should they sell themselves with their former political identity to another FRG intelligence service, to the Protectors of the Constitution or a Western intelligence service? There is the KGB—sure, that sounds logical. But: Why only the KGB? We already mentioned the Palestinians, there are interested parties in the Near East and elsewhere with a great deal of money.

[Ihlau] How could this inventory of agents best be reduced?

[Wolf] At present one is looking for ways to resolve this in a similar direction on the West German side too, I imagine. Of course it would not do for me or my successors just to drop our pants and bare everything underneath. That I would not be prepared to do—and I believe neither would most other people—simply to deliver to the chopping block people who trusted the GDR state and did this work out of conviction.

[Ihlau] So instead individual cases will be examined while offering immunity?

[Wolf] There are some in Bonn who are thinking in this direction: Assure them of immunity when they cease activity, and urge them to reveal themselves.

[Ihlau] But the under secretary or editor in chief among your top people who reveals himself forfeits his existence as a citizen.

[Wolf] But at least it is his decision and not that of those who once recruited him and gave him their assurance that nothing would be known from this apparat that could endanger his security.

[Ihlau] And if this top man would prefer to work for another service?

[Wolf] Then I can only say for myself and the former leadership of the now disbanded service that I would think that was absolutely wrong. Because we would declare our loyalty to the future joint German state and its constitution, and say that such a continuation of the service would be contrary to our intentions. The other guarantee would be: If it is proved that one of them continues to undertake an activity after Day X, after which the immunity is granted, he is fully subject to criminal prosecution. The authorized and competent people should hold talks in order to arrive at a tenable solution. And those people should also be given a chance who, as Federal Interior Minister Schaeuble says, were ensnared by the consequences of the division of the country and the cold war.

[Ihlau] Aren't there already discussions on a competent level in this matter?

[Wolf] I rather have the impression that one is falling back on popular sentiment and popular anger, that with a view to the next elections political interests are in the foreground, in order to keep the Stasi question boiling without change and mixing in the intelligence service as well. But unless a solution that is fair to the interests of all participants is reached, we will experience a continuing smoldering in the field of intelligence service with all kinds of speculations—editor in chief, under secretary and so on.

[Ihlau] The figure "4,000 GDR agents" haunts the explanations of so-called intelligence experts here in the FRG.

[Wolf] Even if I undress completely and reveal all of my knowledge, I could not arrive at the figure 4,000. Let's say there were 2,000; I think there were a little fewer. But when I say that, the coordinator for security services at the Chancellory, Stavenhagen, says right away: Oh well, he has already given the rest to the KGB. So how can you create confidence here? Some sort of end must be established.

[Ihlau] And from retiree Wolf as well as agent X, who for decades worked together in socialist partnership with Moscow, can this new comprehensive Germany, which is scarcely your dream country, really expect loyalty?

[Wolf] And why shouldn't it be my state? I will live in the future Germany. It's the same for hundreds of thousands of GDR citizens, that this is not their dream country. But that is a political question. It doesn't have very much to do with the specifics of my former activity. I want to live in this new country. In this new country I want to try to depict the bitter experiences of my own life—perhaps in order to give the young people an incentive to think. I believe that I have quite a lot to share, including interesting things from my activity in this service. I hope that one will let me do that. That is actually the only thing I still wish for.

[Ihlau] To convey food for thought to young people—is confessing guilt a part of that?

[Wolf] Not in a legal sense and in the Federal Attorney's sense. But at least in a political and moral sense. Every communist who had any responsibility in the so-called real-socialist countries must ask himself this question today. And the greater the responsibility, the more guilt he heaped on himself by helping to support this system. He will have to ask himself what he tried to achieve in more democracy and internal freedom since the 20th CPSU Party Congress in 1956, when Stalin's crimes became clear to us in their full extent. Seen from today's point of view, it was in my case very little. And it was, by the time I retired in 1986, too late, of course.

[Ihlau] A letter we got from one of our readers puts the question: Didn't Wolf, when he was first councillor at the GDR Embassy in Moscow in 1949/50, know that at that time a few thousand mostly young Germans from the GDR had been delivered to the most feared Soviet penal colony of Vorkuta?

[Wolf] I don't think so. At that time I was very busy at the embassy with the emigrants who had been stuck in the Soviet Union and were not allowed to return to Germany. After being released from detention camps they were living somewhere in Kazakhstan or Siberia with limited freedom of movement. And the party leadership around Ulbricht at that time was not interested in them. I was also able to help them only in a few cases.

[Ihlau] You have stated that after unity you would go to the justice administration and take responsibility for that which was in your authority as espionage chief. In your official area there must also have been abduction cases with a lethal outcome, such as those of Walter Linse, ex-Major Murau or former general inspector of the People's Police, Bialek.

[Wolf] On that point I can confidently agree with Schaeuble's statements: Should there during the investigation of me be anything that has nothing to do with pure intelligence service activity, procuring information and recruiting persons, that is to say crimes such as killing and abduction....

[Ihlau] ...then you will put your head on the chopping block for it?

[Wolf] ...then I confidently deliver myself into the charge of the West German, or later all-German, administration of justice. I had neither anything to do with such cases nor ever signed an assassination order. There was never anything like that in all of my activity.

[Ihlau] What does it mean that you "give yourself up to the justice system?" Are you waiting for someone to ring your doorbell with a warrant for your arrest, or will you pack your bags after unity and go to the Federal Prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe?

[Wolf] I have meanwhile asked my Hamburg attorney for the right to see the documents in my investigation...

[Ihlau] ...which, by the way, was suspended "for the time being" at the end of June because the accused could not be reached. But as a former East Berlin spy chief you are threatened with five, and in particularly severe cases up to 10, years in prison for secret intelligence activity.

[Wolf] I'm still confident that by the time a uniform law applies to all of Germany, these questions will have been fundamentally cleared up.

[Ihlau] As late as last fall, shortly before the turnaround, in an interview with this newspaper you spoke of your dream that a united Germany could be a socialist country. How does the communist Mischa Wolf, who is now relegated to using the West German mark as means of payment and in the future will get his pension from the Bonn money pot, look at these dreams today?

[Wolf] I would like to overlook that about the Bonn money pot, because otherwise it would make the major question which you ask so banal. The changes, this collapse of the entire system which we supported in one way or another, create so much new thinking and reflection that you probably need a great deal more time for it.

But what remains? The ideal concepts of a society, such as we in socialism wanted to realize them, they will remain. This dream is not finished, for it is not only a dream in the sense of a belief or a different religion. There is much more behind it. Even if I may perhaps not experience that this dream will become reality in one of the European countries, it remains a concept which is worth supporting. I also want to be there for it in the future Germany. And I'm building on a left which will certainly look totally different from what we envisioned before.

Stasi Dissolution Committee Discusses OIBE

AU2407163690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Jul 90 p 2

[BZ report: "Some Stasi Officers in Special Deployment Are Still at Their Posts"]

[Text] East Berlin—Some of the 1,556 "officers in special deployment" (OibE) of the former GDR State Security Service (Stasi) are still working in their civilian posts.

This was stated by Joachim Gauck of New Forum, chairman of the People's Chamber committee for the dissolution of the Stasi, while talking to journalists yesterday. At the moment committee members are trying to "convince" the officers to resign. However, Stasi employed far fewer of these officers than was suspected.

Three weeks ago Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel said that the dismissal of all special officers "is about to be concluded." Gauck, on the other hand, reported about officers, "who are still working in their sphere of influence." The committee is now making efforts to "talk" to them to rule out that "a certain group of persons" acts in a "destabilizing way." Even though the persons in question are no longer working for the former Ministry of State Security (MfS), they continue to work in their civilian jobs, which they received at the order of the MfS.

According to the first findings by the committee, the GDR secret police used 974 specially trained OibE, as well as 582 members of the Stasi reconnaissance department for "special tasks."

According to Gauck, the special officers performed high-ranking functions in the areas of counterespionage, the economy, all People's Police kreis offices, the Interior Ministry, the bezirk and kreis councils, the transportation sector, the postal service, and the economy [economy mentioned twice as published]. However, there was no concrete "second structure of command,"

with which the Stasi could have ensured its survival in critical times. Most officers have meanwhile "ensured old-age care," Gauck said. "They were not the most stupid ones."

Terrorist Suspect Handed Over to FRG

LD2407135790 Hamburg DPA in German 1338 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Karlsruhe (DPA)—As the fifth of the eight suspected members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) arrested in the GDR, 31-year-old Henning Beer was handed over to the FRG today. Senior State Prosecutor Hans-Juergen Foerster, spokesman for the federal Prosecutor's Office, said that Beer was taken immediately to the investigating magistrate of the federal Court of Justice for a warrant of arrest.

Beer, who has been a GDR citizen under the name, Dieter Lenz, since 1982, is accused of having been involved in an explosives attack on the U.S. Ramstein Airbase in August 1981, and an attempted explosives attack on a NATO delegation in Rota near Cadiz, Spain, in June 1988.

De Maiziere-Kohl 26 Jul Meeting Canceled

LD2507074390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0630 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The meeting planned for Thursday [26 July] between Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere and Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the Wolfgangsee in Austria will not take place. Government Spokesman Mathias Gehler told the press in Berlin prior to the Council of Ministers meeting this morning that the prime minister wishes to resume his government business on Thursday morning [26 July].

A press release from the government spokesman says De Maiziere's presence in Berlin is necessary. The government's work is continuing in the interests of the people. The dispute in the coalition will not impair this work. The Vienna talks are aimed at further expansion of good economic relations with Austria and inviting Austrian investments in the GDR.

Soviet Jews Accepted Into GDR Conditionally

LD2407163590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1553 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Jewish Soviet citizens seeking asylum can only be received in the GDR in limited numbers and under certain conditions. A statement by the GDR Embassy in Moscow, published in IZVESTIYA on Tuesday evening [24 July], states that the GDR Government was not aware of its historic responsibility toward Jewish citizens. Therefore, concerning the adoption of new legal rules on the residence of foreign citizens in the GDR and the granting of asylum to foreigners, an additional rule has been made for Jewish citizens who are discriminated against and persecuted. This is, however, possible only to a limited extent and linked to the aforementioned preconditions. The prevailing opportunities for acceptance and integration must be taken into consideration at the relevant time.

Soviet Nuclear Weapons in GDR Estimated

AU2407174390 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 18/90 (signed to press on 9 Jul 90) pp 6-11

[Unattributed report: "A Taboo Till This Very Day: Soviet Nuclear Weapons on GDR Soil"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] This is an attempt to estimate the extent of nuclear delivery systems of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces that are deployed on GDR territory. Considerations were given to dual use of certain weapons systems during this assessment, and this account does not make the overdue Soviet disclosure of the number of nuclear weapons stationed the in the GDR and information on related ammunition superfluous. In this connection, the issue concerning Soviet nuclear weapons depots in the GDR is of particular interest to the public. It is not likely that delivery systems and ammunition depots are located thousands of km from each other because this would be in contradiction with military logic. However, no information is available because this data is subject to the utmost secrecy in this country.

Survey of Potential Nuclear Delivery Systems of the Ground Forces of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces—table 1

Potential nuclear delivery systems		number of systems	number prepared for nuclear ammunition
Tactical and operative tactical missile systems	SS-21	68	68
	SS-1C and SS-23	120	120
	total number of missile systems	188	188
Artillery systems	152-mm self-propelled [SP] howitzer 2S3	1,104	368
	152-mm gun 2S5	240	80
	152-mm field gun M-1976	120	40
	203-mm gun 2S7	24	8
	240-mm mortar 2S4	24	8
	total number of artillery systems	1,512	504

Survey of Potential Nuclear Delivery Systems of the Ground Forces of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces—table 1 (Continued)

Potential nuclear delivery systems		maximum ammunition for 3-4 combat days	possible nuclear ammunition
Tactical and operative tactical missiles systems	SS-21	unknown	
	SS-1C and SS-23	unknown	
	total number of missiles systems		
Artillery systems	152-mm SP howitzer 2S3	80,960 shells	4,048 shells
	152-mm gun 2S5	17,600 shells	880 shells
	152-mm field gun M-1976	8,800 shells	440 shells
	203-mm gun 2S7	1,760 shells	88 shells
	244-mm mortar 2S4	1,760 shells	88 shells
	total number of artillery systems	110,880 shells (calculated on the basis of 492 systems)	5,544 shells

Performance data of the artillery systems of the Ground Forces of the Western Group—table 2

Data/type	SP howitzer 2S3	gun 2S5	gun 2S7	mortar 2S4
Operating range (km)	500	500	500	500
Range of fire (maximum)	17,400m	30,000m	35,000m	up to 20,000m
Rate of fire/minute	4	4	1	3

The potential nuclear delivery systems of the Western Group are mainly to be found in the divisions of the Ground Forces, the missile and artillery brigades of the five Armies, the 34th Artillery Division near Potsdam, and probably also in the fighter bomber unit of the Air Force.

Missile Systems

Each of the nine motorized rifle divisions [MRD] and the eight tank divisions has a missile unit with four tactical SS-21 missile systems each. The range of this system is estimated at 70 km. Every missile system includes at least four missiles which are loaded on transport vehicles. The number of other missiles is unknown. Thus, these divisions alone have 68 tactical missile systems with at least 272 tactical missiles that may carry nuclear warheads.

Because of its high precision, the SS-21 missile system is excellently suited for point targets. Its high mobility considerably reduces its vulnerability in combat. In line with the unilateral disarmament initiative, announced by Gorbachev in the UN General Assembly on 7 December 1988, a total of 24 of these systems are to be withdrawn from the GDR by the end of 1990.

In addition, the nine MRD dispose of a total of 648 artillery systems 152-mm-SP [gun motor carriage]-howitzers 2S3 (72 each) and the eight tank divisions of 384 (48 each) systems of the same type, which (upon preparation) are basically suitable for firing nuclear ammunition. In this connection, it must be pointed out that normally no more than one-third of all artillery systems suitable for nuclear ammunition can actually be prepared for firing nuclear ammunition.

In addition, it is assumed that each artillery piece has a combat load of about 40 shells and that the ammunition limit for the first three to four days of combat in a defensive operation might be about five to six combat loads. Assuming that of this "only" five percent is nuclear ammunition, the resulting figures are terrifying, figures that increase greatly if one adds the additional facilities. (compare table 1)

The missile brigades of the five Armies might have up to 120 operative-tactical SS-1C or SS-23 (with a range of about 300-400 km) missile systems. At least 480 missiles are available for this purpose. It is to be assumed—and to a degree even certain—that in changing over to the more modern SS-23 missile system, all brigades will be uniformly equipped with 24 missile complexes. As far as the older SS-1-C complexes are concerned, Western sources assumed that each brigade had 12 missile complexes.

It is difficult to assess the artillery brigades of the Army because there is no clear proof for the nuclear capability of the 2S5 guns, of the (older-type) D-20 howitzer, and the M-1976 field gun. Nevertheless, basically one must assume that artillery systems with a caliber of over 152 mm can be used for nuclear ammunition.

Artillery

Therefore it is justified to include at least the 240 2S5 guns and the 120 M-1976 field guns of the army artillery brigades into the calculation and to leave out only the D-20 howitzer because of its moral wear [moralischer Verschleiss].

The stocks of the 34th Artillery Division near Potsdam also contain a considerable potential of artillery systems capable of carrying nuclear warheads. In the past, this division was expected to fulfill operational tasks for massed concentration in decisive areas of action by using the enormous firepower of the artillery. The approximately 7,000 man-strong division, among other things, has a SP howitzer brigade with 72 2S3 SP howitzers, at least one gun unit of about 24 203 mm SP 2S7 guns, and at least one heavy mortar unit of about 24 heavy 240 mm 2S4 mortars. All these facilities can be used for two purposes.

Thus, the Ground Forces of the Western Group might at least have

—188 missile systems,
—752 missiles on transport vehicles, and
—1,476 pieces of artillery over 152 mm (one-third of which—namely, 492, can be prepared for nuclear ammunition)

And the stocks of nuclear ammunition might amount to about 5,000 shells.

This minimum number, which does not account for stored weapons, gives rise to the assumption that the GDR is also a major nuclear powder keg.

Besides, the question of possible chemical weapons storage on GDR territory has not yet been answered. Basically, it has been established that a great number of weapons systems can also be applied for the use of such weapons.

The question as to whether the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR also have nuclear ammunition remains completely unclear. The fighter bomber units at least are potentially able to use nuclear weapons. This is highly probable in the case of the MiG-27, SU-17, and SU-24 fighter bombers of the fighter bomber units at Grossenhain and Rechlin-Laerz (about 40 aircraft per unit).

One will see how long Moscow permits the general staff to reject "glasnost" in this military sphere. The citizens of the GDR have a right to know what is stationed on their territory. Time is short if finally we want to completely end confrontation and distrust in Europe. There should be a future without nuclear weapons for all of Germany.

PDS' Gysi on Kohl-Gorbachev Meeting Outcome

AU2407173490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jul 90 p 3

[ND report: "People Should Decide on Alliance Membership"]

[Text] Athens—On Thursday [19 July] at a news conference ending his official visit to Greece, Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] and its People's Chamber group, when asked a related question, commented on the results of the Gorbachev-Kohl meeting. He welcomed the decisions—that the FRG again set down the borders of the future Germany, affirmed the renunciation of the possession and use of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, and set down upper limits for the armed forces of the united Germany—which the PDS has always advocated. He welcomed the fact that gradual withdrawal of the Soviet forces from German territory is planned. As a result of the forthcoming abolition of the allied rights, Germany will be able to decide on its alliance membership in a sovereign way after its unity has been established.

The PDS will intensify its efforts in and out of parliament to prevent Germany's one-sided NATO membership. This is guided by the fact that NATO and the Warsaw Pact developed within the framework of the East-West conflict. As the regions overcome this conflict, both blocs are increasingly losing their reason for existence. If Germany did not belong to any alliance, the two military organizations would lose so much importance that their dissolution would occur in a few months. It would therefore be necessary to install all-European security structures within the framework of the CSCE. This would promote the process of the political unification of Europe, while Germany's NATO membership would cement the current bloc structures.

The upper limits for the Armed Forces of the future Germany, which Gregor Gysi would have preferred to be even lower, have to be cleared up further. In the PDS's view, the reduction should apply to the Bundeswehr and the National People's Army in terms of percentage. In Gysi's opinion, not only the Soviet troops but all foreign troops should be gradually withdrawn from Germany. At least it has to be agreed that foreign troops must not deploy nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons on German territory because otherwise Germany would become the main target of attacks in the event of a conflict.

The PDS chairman welcomed the declared intention to conclude a long-term treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union, because relations between these two member states of the CSCE process are of great importance for further European development. He stressed his party's firm determination to advocate a referendum on Germany's future membership in a military alliance because only in this case can the decision really be a sovereign one made by the German people.

Concerning his stay in Greece, Gregor Gysi stated that the continuation of party relations and personal contacts—in particular with the Communist Party of Greece, the Greek Left, and the Panhellenic Socialist Movement—has been agreed on. It was agreed with these interlocutors and the Greek prime minister that a German and European left are important parts of the political scenery of a united Germany and a united Europe.

Internment Camp Details Provided by Moscow

LD2307151290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1359 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Detailed information from Moscow about internment camps, which were created after 1945 by Soviet Armed Forces on the territory of what was to become the GDR, has been brought back to East Berlin by Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel (Independent) from the Soviet capital. The deputy prime minister told ADN after his return on Monday [23 July] at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport that the Soviet Union, just like the GDR, is greatly interested in seeing "this ghastly chapter" closed.

The material, which gives precise details about the number of camps, deaths, and executions, once processed, will be made public in the near future.

During his three-day visit Diestel, together with his Soviet counterpart, Vadim Bakatin, signed a protocol on police cooperation between the two states.

Chile Denies Entry Visa to Honecker

AU2407161490 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 22 Jul 90 p 3

["H.V."-signed report: "Erich Honecker Denied Entry to Chile"]

[Text] Bonn—The Chilean Government has denied the right to enter or stay in Chile to Erich Honecker, former GDR head of state and chief of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. According to information acquired by WELT AM SONNTAG, this was a result of the intervention of the FRG Government.

At first, the government in Santiago was willing to grant asylum in Chile to 77-year-old Honecker and his wife. Honecker's daughter, who recently moved to Chile with her husband, had filed an application.

The Chilean Government was told by the Bonn Foreign Ministry that Bonn would consider its accepting Honecker as a "particularly unfriendly act." It was pointed out to the government in Santiago that Honecker is politically responsible for the longstanding criminal activities of the SED regime in the GDR.

The GDR Interior Ministry said that all identity documents have been taken from the Honeckers.

Visas Abolished for GDR-Portugal Travel

AU2407104690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 19 Jul 90 p 6

[ADN report: "Now Also Visa-Free Travel For Portugal"]

[Text] Berlin—Mandatory visas between the GDR and Portugal have been abolished effective 20 July. According to a Foreign Ministry statement, holders of normal passports, official passports, and diplomatic passports from the two countries can enter the respective other country without a visa and can visit there for 60 days.

Police Major Accused of Unlawful Disclosure

LD2407161690 Budapest MTI in English 1446 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 24 (MTI)—The chief public prosecutor has repeatedly laid an accusation against Police Major Jozsef Vegvari, who unleashed the bugging scandal at the internal security service.

In connection with the new trial, MPs [members of parliament] of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) gave a brief press conference in the parliament building.

Gabor Demszky (AFD) said that former secret service officer Jozsef Vegvari was only reprimanded when facing the court on charges of giving out state secrets early this year.

Demszky quoted the newly appointed chief public prosecutor, Kalman Gyorgyi, as calling it unavoidable to call to account Jozsef Vegvari in court, mainly because of resorting to unlawful means and violating corporate discipline. Vegvari disclosed unconstitutional activity, but not by legal means, the chief public prosecutor argued.

The free democrats dissociate themselves from the chief public prosecutor's decision and the fresh accusation: Jozsef Vegvari continues to enjoy their solidarity and legal protection.

Gabor Fodor of FYD's parliamentary group said it was to be feared that the actual intention behind the affair was to set a precedent in the interest of the secret service's internal stability. At the same time, he pointed out that should the investigation be resumed, it has to be extended to all those held politically accountable for the unconstitutional actions, that is the top leaders of the secret service who were dismissed precisely because of the scandal.

Local Election Bill Presented to Parliament

LD2407125390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] We begin our detailed report with an account of today's work in parliament. Our reporters are Zsuzsa Vajda and Andras Domany:

[Domany] Announcing the bill on local elections, Balazs Horvath, minister for the interior, explained that the settlements are divided into three groups: In areas having populations below 5,000, all candidates will be on one list, and voting will have to be from candidates on this small list. In areas having populations from 5,000 to 60,000 there will be the previous electoral districts, where parties and other organizations would be presenting candidates. Finally, in towns having populations greater than 60,000 and in the districts of Budapest there would be both individual electoral districts and party lists. As in parliamentary elections, voters would cast one vote which would be counted twice: once as a vote for the individual, and once as a vote for the party.

Five percent of the population could nominate candidates, either verbally or in writing. Concerning the metropolitan and country districts, the government recommends electoral districts with several mandates.

Another question is whether mayors should be elected directly. In districts with fewer than 5,000 inabitants, they certainly should. However, as far as larger districts are concerned, the electoral law cannot say anything prior to passage of the local government bill, which was debated yesterday; however, the debate was postponed.

Citizens who belong to national and ethnic minorities could field separate candidates, even if they do not live in a closed unit within the settlement. This is a very important proposal and debate about how this should take place continues.

It is also proposed that at local elections, permanent residents who are not Hungarian citizens could also vote, but nonpermanent residents—for example owners of holiday homes—cannot vote.

Jeszenszky on Hungarian Foreign Policy Trends

AU2407133890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Gabor Horvath at Ferihegy Airport on 18 July: "Hungary Continues To Play a Pioneering Role"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Geza Jeszenszky returned home from a private visit in the United States on 19 July. Our foreign minister lectured at a conference on Central and East European affairs held at the University of California at Santa Barbara, a university where he had previously taught history as a guest professor. Geza Jeszenszky gave the following interview to NEPSZABADSAG a few minutes after landing at Ferihegy Airport.

[Horvath] Very seldom does a foreign minister travel abroad on his own vacation and lecture about his country. Why was this conference in Santa Barbara important to you?

[Jeszenszky] A lot has changed in Hungary and in general in Central and East Europe. People from the private sector have become parliamentary deputies and politicians, giving up their former professions completely or partially, yet they do not want to completely break with their former ties. For example, I am a historian and I prefer not to lose that thread of scientific life. This invitation offered a good opportunity for a four-day rest and ministerial functions as the trip was not a conference of historians, but a scientific conference dealing with the situation in East and Central Europe.

[Horvath] How did your former colleagues and university professors receive you?

[Jeszenszky] They warmly welcomed me. The University of California at Santa Barbara was also proud that its former teacher was found suitable to be foreign minister of the Hungarian Republic. This was stressed by the deputy director in a speech delivered to the parents of the new students.

[Horvath] What was the main message of your lecture?

[Jeszenszky] I took the floor several times during this five-day conference. I tried to place the Hungarian changes in the context of the process of overall restructuring under way in our region. I stressed that, from many points of view, Hungary continues to play a pioneering role in Central Europe. An American entrepreneur shared this view and said that he believes Hungary is the best place for investment in the area because this country has achieved the most in introducing a market economy.

[Horvath] An important agreement was signed at the Soviet-German summit while you were away. Practically speaking, this step is based on the principle Hungarian foreign policy followed from the beginning; that the Germans should decide whether they want to be NATO members.

[Jeszenszky] Yes, this agreement justifies Hungarian foreign policy. We can say that this decision was inevitable. However, we can also say that the Soviet Union was interested in making sure that the new Germany "does not hang in the air" and is lastingly connected to Europe. Both abroad and at home, there were people who considered the firm stand of Hungarian foreign policy favoring such a solution a hasty decision. However, the results show that our position was correct.

[Horvath] What can we expect in the future?

[Jeszenszky] The process of reunification of the two Germanys is not new; its framework has also been adopted on an international level. With this, the issue of European unity has taken a step forward, and, at the same time, the chances of regional cooperation have also improved, like the chances of Austrian-Italian-Yugoslav-CSFR-Hungarian relations.

Interior Minister on Self-Governing Bodies

AU2407103890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jul 90 p 4

[Interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by Ferenc Hajba in Gyor on 15 July: "Domestic Affairs Should Not Be the Monopoly of Any Party"; first three paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Balazs Horvath lectured on self-government and answered questions at an international camp organized by the Youth Democratic Forum in Gyor on 15 July.

Balazs Horvath analyzed and criticized the proposal of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] from the viewpoint of the government's public administration concept, calling the SZDSZ plan a "classic shock therapy." According to Balazs Horvath, if the SZDSZ proposals were implemented, 10-12 percent of the 3,000 self-governing bodies envisaged by the SZDSZ would benefit from the plan; however, the rest would become bankrupt. In his speech, Horvath Balazs said that he opposed the dismantling of a uniform judicial system and that he did not want an individual police department for the self-governing bodies because this would inevitably lead to corruption.

The meeting was followed by a news conference in which Balazs Horvath gave a special interview to NEPSZABADSAG.

[Hajba] The Parliament is debating the self-government bill today. Given the reactions so far, how much can the minister who submitted the bill withdraw?

[Horvath] The basic idea of the draft bill must not be modified. According to our concepts, the various communities will live according to their own autonomous laws, but they will remain an organic and integral part of the Hungarian public administration. However, we cannot promise unlimited power and opportunities, because this would mean the state could not interfere in the activities of various communities. Unlimited independence could lead to the collapse of the Hungarian public administration. The government wants to fulfill a balanced and helpful background role.

[Hajba] The distribution of local power will be decided at the upcoming elections of self-governing bodies. I heard in the "168 hours" radio program that the governing party would set up an organizational body in the various communities. Apparently, this body will fulfill the role of auxiliary police and will also help carry out the elections.

[Horvath] Not at all. These voluntary public units will have no authority rights and they cannot be representatives of various parties or movements. Their task is to help organize the events of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. These units cannot actively influence the honesty and freedom of the local government elections.

[Hajba] The papers carried an appeal issued by the Smallholders Party which calls for "favorable individuals" to replace the police and the Army personnel. How did you react to this?

[Horvath] I was astonished to read this appeal. I will not tolerate any party monopolizing domestic affairs. Party affiliation is not the decisive issue. The issue is whether the personnel in question know their job and are loyal to the ideas of the government that, I hope, reflects the intentions of the people.

[Hajba] In your speech, you called some of the latest parliamentary debates a mockery of democracy. What

could be done in order to preserve the credibility and dignity of the National Assembly?

[Horvath] First, we should stop the live television broadcasts from the Parliament debates.

[Hajba] In order to avoid the presentation of the "mockery of democracy"?

[Horvath] No. Journalists should be present, and I do not want to close the debates from the public. However, live television broadcast makes a theatrical comedy out of the Parliament debates.

[Hajba] You have been asked several questions about the terrorists in Hungary. I interpreted one of the answers that if Ulrike Meinhof really stayed in Hungary as NEPSZABADSAG reported, then NEPSZABADSAG is responsible both legally and morally because it knew about the affair.

[Horvath] This is not what I meant. I do not think that your paper deliberately kept silent about this until today. I meant that those who provided refuge to Ulrike Meinhof—if she was really here—and who helped her are legally and morally responsible. My only problem with NEPSZABADSAG was that, in my view, the paper published a lot of gossip in connection with the terrorists, as did other papers.

Skubiszewski Views Relations With Germany

AU2407101290 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 18/90 (signed to press on 9 July) pp 20-21

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Klaus Rossner; place and date not given: "Two Great Nations: Poles and Germans"]

[Text] [Rossner] Mr. Foreign Minister, recalling the war and the Germans' and Poles' loss of their homeland, you said once that peace is required in the hearts. What do you mean by that?

[Skubiszewski] I think that the emotions of many people that are caused again and again by war and expulsion should no longer escalate into implacable rage today. One should and must remember this. One should never forget it, but one must also think of the future. In this way, hatred, sorrow, and pain can be curbed. I am very optimistic in this respect because we now are primarily dealing with a generation on both sides of the Oder and the Neisse, which was not involved in these terrible events. Thus, the young people also have an actual chance of completing the reconciliation between Germans and Poles.

[Rossner] An important step in this direction was undoubtedly the declaration of the two German parliaments on the Oder-Neisse border in Berlin and Bonn a few days ago. How do you evaluate this text?

[Skubiszewski] For us Poles, this resolution is an important fact on the road toward a treaty on the Oder-Neisse border between our country and a united Germany under international law. Then the conclusion of such a treaty will be a good basis for the implementation of the Polish-German community of interests, which is indispensable for permanent security in Europe. As the first state in Central and East Europe, Poland recognized the German people's natural right to self-determination and unification within a state. We take the view that the division of Europe cannot be finally overcome without Germany's unification. The process of the unification of the German state is an integral part of Europe's unification on the basis of joint democratic values, the respect for human rights, and fundamental and democratic freedoms. The Poles and the Germans are two great nations in the middle of Europe who have started to overcome divisions, while living in secure borders.

[Rossner] Thus, the preamble to the Zgorzelec Agreement, which says that the Oder-Neisse border does not separate our people, has continued to be valid until today. Nevertheless, the development of the future relations between the united Germany and Poland will not be so simple. In what fields do you see possible problems?

[Skubiszewski] You see, I am practical and pragmatic. In fact, there are some problems that have to be discussed. For example, German unification will cost us much. We will have to pay a high price because we will lose our economic contacts with the GDR—not all, but many. Regarding raw materials, I do not see great difficulties; trade will continue to work. But we will certainly have great losses in our machinery exports and in the sector of electronics. There is also the problem of the employment of Polish workers and employees in the GDR. The number of jobs will be considerably reduced. Of course, this will considerably affect the labor market in Poland. Here we have to modify existing contracts in an acceptable way, in order to limit the damage.

[Rossner] Such a limitation of damage can certainly also be a solid confidence-building measure between the united Germany and Poland, in order to curb the Poles' fears of a strong German neighbor....

[Skubiszewski] This is my point of view. Yes, there are fears in Poland. You are right, but I, as a minister and a expert on Germany, do not share these fears. Possible losses for our economy are one thing. However, one has to appreciate the great objective chances that will arise in the future relations between Germany and Poland in the long run, so to speak. A German-Polish community of interests has to be created in the center of Europe against the important background of reconciliation. However, I also have to tell you that the present regulation at the Oder-Neisse border is a problem for me and that this regulation is far from forming a bond between our peoples. The GDR citizens can come to us without any restrictions, while passports and invitations are requested from our people. To me, this seems to be a measure out of Honecker's era when the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was a policy of insulation, including against the East, in order to stop "Solidarity's" ideas. This border regime should quickly disappear because it is an undignified blow to the freedom and democracy acquired by our peoples.

Article Assesses Future of Warsaw Pact

AU2407111290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Jul 90 p 5

[Maria Wagrowska article: "The Measure of Changes"]

[Text] The transformation of the Warsaw Pact in these last years is one of the most spectacular political phenomena since the war. On 26 April 1985, the 30th anniversary of the "Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance," Zhivkov, Husak, Honecker, Jaruzelski, Ceausescu, Kadar, and Gorbachev prolonged the Pact for another 20 years.

It was decided that if no signatory country gives notice to quit the Pact before the 20 years are up, it will remain in force for another 10 years. But it has already lost two of its main functions in a shorter space of time than one could possibly have foreseen—safeguarding the internal order in the member countries, and preserving the ideological and political unity of the old socialist camp. Democratization, political pluralism, and institutional changes have rekindled national aspirations and a desire for one's own foreign and defense policy. At the same time, the threat from outside has fallen considerably, and perhaps disappeared altogether.

On 7 June 1990, the Political Consultative Committee said that during the transitional period, the Pact will only be capable of discharging tasks connected with disarmament and the creation of an all-European system of security if it is subjected to a review of its nature and functioning. Therefore, a group of experts was formed, which is to work out by the autumn new principles for the functioning of the alliance in its future form, in other words minus the GDR, and very probably minus Hungary as well. ADN reports that these countries have affirmed their desire to leave the Pact.

A basic question arises: How long can the transitional period, which will presumably lead to the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, last? Will NATO still be intact during this period, or will both alliances collapse at the same time and be replaced by a new all-European one? What exactly is the reform to the Warsaw Pact supposed to involve, and will the Pact really adapt to the internal political changes in the member countries and their new foreign policies? One can consider against this background Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact.

Looking at the way things are right now, I can hazard the guess that the transitional period will last at least 3 to 4 years. By then, the GDR will have become integrated into NATO to some extent, the German Army will have become smaller, and Soviet forces will have been withdrawn from East German territory. The result will be a fundamentally different situation for Poland, because a Germany that is militarily integrated with the rest of Europe should be a much smaller threat than a state that is torn between its national interests and the duty to safeguard a stable development of Europe, the situation of a divided Germany until now. But another reason for the fundamentally different situation is that the West has no rational reason to commence military action (or confrontation) against today's Poland. The risk of Poland being drawn into a conflict with these countries has also diminished considerably. In any case, elements of neutrality are beginning to sprout in our defense policy. The withdrawal of the Western Group of Soviet Forces from present-day GDR territory is making the presence of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces in Poland superfluous, because the Northern Group acts mainly as a logistical backup for the Western Group.

In fact, Western experts think the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the Warsaw Pact countries may be synonymous with the dissolution of the Pact itself, because the Pact has mainly been an instrument of USSR strategy. For this reason, Poland, and to some extent Czechoslovakia, as the most important countries from the Soviet Union's viewpoint, are now in a special situation. Both of them will soon be bordered by NATO on the West, and by reforming Soviet republics in the East. These totally new circumstances are forcing the USSR to reconsider the concept of its territorial defense, and also to relocate its military command centers, especially nuclear ones, to some extent.

NATO has said many times that it will respect Soviet security interests and not try to gain superiority. Therefore, it seems NATO has no special need for decentralizing trends in the Warsaw Pact, especially now that these trends are in full political swing. A total withdrawal of Soviet forces is feasible within the next few years, and will mark the end of the transitional period. An artificial acceleration or prolongation of these processes does not seem to lie in Poland's interests.

Nevertheless, they possess cardinal importance for Poland. Ever since the war, official Polish policy has unilaterally linked Poland's raison d'etat and security with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. It was thought that first, this constitutes a safeguard against a possible confrontation with the West, especially Germany, and second, against the unforeseeable outcome of a unification of Germany second. That has been the chief justification for the deployment of Soviet forces in our country.

These safeguards still exist, but at the same time Poland is obtaining new ones thanks to the future treaty with Germany (a confirmation of the permanence of the Western border and a recognition of our territorial integrity), Germany's link to Europe, and a gradual construction of an all-European system of security. At last there is a chance that unilateral security guarantees will be replaced by multilateral ones as part of this new system, in other words, dependence on any one partner or group of partners will diminish. One can conclude from various analyses that for the time being, the negative effects of Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact will continue, for example, concerning scientific cooperation with the west.

The development of the CSCE process will be another major factor determining the activity of the Warsaw Pact. As long as the current trends toward political detente and disarmament continue, the CSCE process should lead to a system of joint security with the participation of the countries of Europe, the Soviet Union, and North America. The general preliminary provisions could already be presented at the CSCE summit in Paris toward the end of the year, but the creation of such a system is still a long way away. What role can the Warsaw Pact play during this nebulous period? It seems it can only organize a consultation of stances between its member states on the subject of disarmament and arms controls, topics of key importance for the building of a security system, and on the subject of solutions to be applied to our entire region. For the erosion of the Warsaw Pact has shown that the national interests of the member countries are diversified. A rivalry between various concepts of rapprochement with the West has pushed political cooperation into the background. Whether this is a permanent situation is a different subject.

Commentary Views Two-Plus-Four Talks Success

AU2407135890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Jul 90 p 1

[Maria Wagrowska commentary: "Satisfaction"]

[Text] Poland is satisfied with the outcome of the two-plus-four conference. It is not just a diplomatic success because we were the only participating country apart from the two German states, which are directly involved, and the four powers, who have shared responsibility over Germany until now. More pleasing than that is the fact that this conference confirmed, or rather finally recognized, the inviolability of the border along the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] rivers. This recognition has been accorded by a Germany on the threshold of unification literally before the eyes of Europe and the entire world and on the basis of international law. One must also praise the attitudes of the four powers because they have never involved themselves in such a vital Polish issue to the same extent as this time. I think we can consider this to be a token of appreciation for Poland's path to Europe.

The Paris conference agreed on the main provisions of a future agreement on Germany. Apart from a border pact with Poland, this will include German recognition of the territorial integrity of its neighboring countries, plus an assurance that the constitution of the future Germany will not contain any clauses contrary to the aforementioned points.

The present declaration of the permanence of our border will assume the shape of a bilateral treaty following German unification. It will be concluded and ratified between Poland and the new country, which in this way will inherit the border settlements contained in the Zgorzelec Treaty, concluded between the GDR and Poland in 1950, and the treaty on the normalization of mutual relations, concluded between the FRG and Poland in 1970. Poland would like this treaty to be concluded as quickly as possible after unification.

Let us hope that the political ambiguity that has accompanied the border issue for decades despite international legal instruments has finally been settled, and that henceforth German-Polish relations will develop without any political and psychological ballast.

Slovak Minority Leader on Annexation by Slovakia

AU2407150490 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 23 Jul 90 p2

[Interview with Lubomir Molitoris, acting secretary of the Cultural-Social Society of Czechs and Slovaks in Poland, by SMENA correspondent Jana Draskovicova; place and date not given: "We Have Compatriots Even in Poland;" last paragraph is SMENA conclusion]

[Excerpts] [Draskovicova] What is life like on the other side of the High Tatra [mountain range]?

[Molitoris] Slovaks in Poland are not emigres; they have always lived where they live. Fate only played with them when, in 1920, 14 villages from the Spis area and 13 villages from the Orava area were annexed to Poland.

[Draskovicova] Do you feel good in Poland?

[Melitoris] Our situation is not rosy. As long as Poland does not have a law on ethnic minorities, life will not be easy for us. Once we had a Slovak school in every village. [passage omitted] Now we only have two Slovak schools left—in Nova Bela and in Jablonka. Slovak is taught in 21 schools.

[Draskovicova] And secondary schools?

[Melitoris] Until 1955 we had a Slovak secondary school at Jablonka. The Education Ministry then ordered that a Polish class be introduced in each grade level and, since 1968, Slovak has been taught there only as an optional subject.

[Draskovicova] What problems do you have apart from schools?

[Melitoris] The greatest problems we have are with Catholic priests. They accuse us of Slovak nationalism because our people want services to be held in Slovak. Though the situation has improved a bit—in two villages the whole mass is being said in our language, elsewhere only some Slovak hymns and prayers are being sung—it is still too little.

[Draskovicova] Are there no tendencies in the former Slovak villages in Poland toward the rejoining of Slovakia?

[Melitoris] Tendencies.... Our minority's organization is guided by the Constitution of the Polish Republic. Anything like that would be illegal, unconstitutional, and also unthinkable.

[Draskovicova] I did not ask for your official position but for your opinion.

[Melitoris] Well, the interest on the part of Slovaks would be tremendous! [passage omitted]

[SEMA] Some 30,000 Polish Slovaks live on the territory of Poland currently.

Geremek Discusses Solidarity's Internal Conflict

AU2407160290 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 23 Jul 90 pp 106-107

[Interview with Solidarity Parliamentary Group head Bronislaw Geremek by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Specter of National Disaster"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Professor, do you still consider yourself a member of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee?

[Geremek] No.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is this now the end of the joint path with the Solidarity chairman?

[Geremek] I hope not. We—that is, the majority of the parliamentary group—think that our joint path with Walesa, which started 10 years ago, should be continued. However, we no longer consider the Citizens Committee as an institution, which could be useful to Walesa, to our country, and also to Solidarity. This institution has fulfilled its task, continuing it would be useless.

[DER SPIEGEL] The role of someone influencing the formation of opinion is not enough in your opinion?

[Geremek] Some people within the Citizens Committee claim to be representing something—this would be wrong in my view, it would equal a parliament, which was not elected by anyone. Such a path could be dangerous for development in Poland.

[DER SPIEGEL] What are the reasons for the conflict between Walesa and the intellectuals, like Michnik and you, in the Citizens Committee? Is it personal dislike, or is there more behind it?

[Geremek] Regarding Walesa, this is his own problem. The issue is that he does not seem to find an appropriate place in the current political life. Alone with his strong personality, he is blowing up the political scenery. Walesa is doubtlessly an historical figure, who symbolizes the entire process of changes in Central Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] Something like a monument which is now standing around in a bothersome way?

[Geremek] No, he is not an historical monument. He continues to be an important figure on the political scene. His problem is that he is not satisfied with the role of the leader of an increasingly weaker trade union movement in the current political situation.

[DER SPIEGEL] Which role could he play?

[Geremek] I think that Walesa should find some place in public life. However, he would have to find this place in a democratic way. On the other hand, I do not want to overestimate the harshness of the current conflict. In a democratic system there is, after all, the principle of competition. Somehow, this competition is adopting ugly forms in the still weak Polish democracy.

[DER SPIEGEL] Don't you underestimate the conflicts?

[Geremek] Not at all. Because they take place at a moment when the entire process of democratization in Poland, this large-scale process of changes, seems to be in danger. The situation is delicate. The social conflicts are becoming increasingly relentless.

This applies to the peasants who are dissatisfied with the lack of state investments and with the market economy, which so far has not improved their situation at all. The workers, whose real income continues to decrease, are also dissatisfied. So are the young people who do not find work.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you consider an explosion possible?

[Geremek] In a situation, when the social conflicts are escalating so dramatically, political conflicts can easily function as ignition charges. I am convinced that the specter of national disaster, which threatens Poland if the reforms fail, has not been dispelled once and for all. In such a situation, it is the task of Solidarity and its leaders, above all of Walesa, to protect and strengthen the reform processes.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do the people think? Are they not getting tired slowly?

[Geremek] So far the people have supported the changes; all in all, the people's support for an economic policy has not decreased; what has decreased is the popularity of the political leaders. This is the Polish paradox: The drastic thrift policy demands great sacrifices from the people, but they are still for it. They reject, however, any kind of political intrigue.

[DER SPIEGEL] Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, the Solidarity leader from Wroclaw, said that Walesa is establishing a "despot's court."

[Geremek] This is a harsh but correct diagnosis. At the same time, I think that Lech Walesa is not really aware of the danger to democracy he is conjuring up with this.

[DER SPIEGEL] Now Walesa even wants to become state president. Is such a man suited to take over the highest office in the state?

[Geremek] If you had asked me this question a few months ago, I would have answered "yes" without any hesitation. But now I am seriously worried about everything that happens around Walesa and that influences him. It is to be feared that the path toward power might influence the way power is then exercised.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does Walesa have ambitions to rule Poland with a strong hand, to be someone like a second Marshal Pilsudski, for instance, who carried out a coup d'etat against the elected government in 1926?

[Geremek] This is precisely the problem. Walesa knows exactly what freedom means. But Walesa does not know every detail—and this applies not only to him but to an entire generation of Poles—of what democracy means. The temptation to rule with a strong hand is great in a post-totalitarian situation. This is a serious danger.

[DER SPIEGEL] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has repeatedly been named as Walesa's competitor for the office of president.

[Geremek] If Mazowiecki and Walesa compete with each other and stick to the democratic rules, I am not worried about the future of the Polish democracy, regardless of who wins in the end.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you remain head of the parliamentary group in any case?

[Geremek] I am not a professional politician. Nevertheless, I thought that I had done quite well in my task as head of the parliamentary group. Now I am not quite sure sometimes.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will you do?

[Geremek] It is time for me to draw up a personal balance sheet. In this I am increasingly becoming convinced that I am a historian. This gives me the certainty that at the moment when I am no longer convinced of my political role I can return to my former profession.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you do not want to rule out becoming prime minister?

[Geremek] If this question is posed, I will answer it for myself, for the Polish public, and also for DER SPIEGEL.

[DER SPIEGEL] Which role does the church play in the current conflict between Walesa and the government?

[Geremek] At the moment one cannot say that the church interferes in the conflict. The church is observing the situation with increasing anxiety. This can be clearly seen in the Pope's letter. I also do not believe that the church should take someone's side in such a conflict; it should rather play the arbiter and try to make sure that Poland's current opportunities are not gambled away carelessly. I hope that the church understands this role.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you see the danger of the current conflicts ending in a civil war?

[Geremek] In connection with the political conflicts within Solidarity, I do not see this danger. However, I am very worried about the fact that on Poland's political scene groups are increasingly emerging, which do not rule out gaining power by brutal force and with the help of the street.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you thinking of a certain camp in this connection?

[Geremek] Such ideas can be found on both sides, both among the left in the classical sense of the word as well as among the right. However, it is particularly strange that these trends can also be found in the camp which calls itself "Centrum." (A group of parliamentarians in both Chambers of Parliament who are loyal to Walesa and who are headed by Senator Lech Kaczynski)

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you fear most for the next months?

[Geremek] I fear most that the bond of trust between Polish society and the political elites will tear apart. The political elites developed in the struggle of Solidarity for democratic changes; they did not have any professional political experience, but they had trust. This trust also existed within the elites themselves. If this climate of trust is destroyed, this would be a great danger in the current situation. We cannot afford this.

Center Accord's Kaczynski on Movement Values

AU2507080790 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 20-22 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Center Accord leader Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski by Adam Cymer; place and date not given: "Not a Government of Elites, But Pluralist Democracy"]

[Text] [Cymer] The Polish process of change geared toward parliamentary democracy and a law-governed state is invariably associated with the ideals of "Solidarity" and its social ethos. Today's events on the national political scene prompt the question: What if that ethos manifests itself in the practice of political life?

[Kaczynski] That is a very difficult question. On the one hand, one would like to say that many processes and phenomena have their roots in that system of values that "Solidarity" stood for in the years in 1980-81. On the other hand, however, one cannot fail to notice that the political scene today is evolving under the influence of various ethoses, which are, to some extent, a product of the methods that were used to influence society or spread propaganda over the past few decades. I have, however, noticed something that I consider to be a valuable social phenomenon—one that is neither confined to a particular generation, nor determined by a person's age—namely, that many people are turning to those years, to the very beginning of "Solidarity's" existence, to those experiences as a special time, because it formed all those ideals to which people return and feel nostalgic about. I hope that this will persist, and that the exceptionally potent symbolism of that time will be revived.

On the other hand, I would not like the ideals of "Solidarity" to become a tool in the hands of, or associated solely with one center that usurps for itself the right to the "Solidarity" legacy. Essentially, something of this kind is happening now. There are certain elites that joined up with "Solidarity"—although they were already elites in the social hierarchy of the Polish People's Republic—and clearly reckoned that power would be entrusted to them as a result of the democratization of Poland. This is what gave rise to the efforts to foster a form of political life, to establish a institutional framework for democracy that would permit that kind of political control, even for many years to come. This political plan was a spectacular failure if one recalls the events that attended the citizens committees meetings at the end of June and beginning of July, and the fact that a new political grouping that is in opposition to the Center has been established in the past few days. Our opponents can no longer maintain that they are the entire "Solidarity" movement, and there ceases to be any basis for the rather amusing view that there is no left or right because everyone was in the "Solidarity" movement. However, the new political formation is continuing to seek ways of controlling social movements, and this time it wants to control local government structures. This kind of appeal to elites is very typical.

The Center Accord is opposed to this because—and this is indisputably one of the ideals of "Solidarity." We are on the side of society, and we are not afraid of society; we are not, therefore, seeking a government of elites, but pluralist democracy.

[Cymer] Not being afraid of society means, in a positive sense, respect for that society, respect for the values that are dear to it, for its traditions, faith, and customs. How should this system of values be reflected in political life?

[Kaczynski] It has to be said that there is a certain discrepancy between the values that are universally accepted by society, and the values subscribed to by certain elites who set policy. It is a complex problem. It involves the treatment of Polish religious feeling—which is supposed to be superficial and more emotional, as opposed to Western religious feeling, which is intellectual and less universal, but more profound—and concern—which is being increasingly voiced not only by the secular, but also by the Catholic left—about the high standing of the Catholic Church in public life. The Center Accord supports the representation of the Catholic majority of society—it would be difficult to charge that this is an exaggeration—in political life. This is because it would not be normal for Christian values, which influence our lives so greatly, not to be translated into the political structures that shape the system of government and public life. We are not seeking to achieve a monopoly on representing Catholics, but the fact that the majority of our supporters are believers—many hold views that are close to those of Christian democracy—means that the Center Accord wants to be a grouping that will play an important role in promoting the Christian system of values. If this is a success, it will be an historic act of justice toward the nation and its faith, and toward Catholicism, not in an integrational sense, but toward a Catholicism that is open to other axiological systems.

I must add that respect for Polish Catholicism, for Polish religious feeling, is respect for values on which other precious social values can be formed, if only those that create the national tradition. Besides, this is a broader problem—the problem of assessing the Polish heritage that shapes our consciousness. In left-wing circles—among both the secular and the Catholic left—our national heritage is perceived very critically and assessments of it concentrate on emphasizing its negative aspects. My formation has a different view. Our national heritage has to be accepted with a certain measure of criticism, but, at the same time, it should also be understood that it constitutes a system of values that cannot be rejected, because it is our contribution—there is no reason why we should disassociate ourselves from it—to European culture. This is the context in which our European character should be discussed, rather than in the belief that our future lies in the fastest possible adoption of Western patterns of living and thinking. However, it has to be stressed that extremism does not aid the preservation of the national heritage. The Center Accord is a resolutely antinationalist formation. Nevertheless, we have no intention of making a problem out of what is clearly a fringe phenomenon and cannot impact negatively on all of Polish political life. We do not want to reject certain values just because they could become a kind of launchpad for anti-values, such as nationalism or xenophobia. While considering the problem of nationalism to be a fringe phenomenon, we would, nevertheless, like to point out that left-wing circles are trying to exploit it for the sake of short-term political objectives. One can add that nationalism was not invented in Poland and that it exists in some form in all of Europe, and that it assumes its most virulent forms in the Third World. To impute to our nation some kind of particular predilection for nationalism is something that is to be regretted.

[Cymer] This review of the Polish political scene, a synthesis of the social factors shaping it and its historical reference points, entitles me to ask how you see it evolving further and about how pluralist democracy is to be arrived at within a concrete institutional framework?

[Kaczynski] Neither the Polish heritage nor the religious sentiments of the Polish nation entitle one—as some have put it—to build a Catholic state of the Polish nation. It is a dangerous vision that would very much harm the church and Poland. We want to build a democratic system in Poland, one that, through the concrete form that it takes, will express the feelings of Polish society. That is why we are in favor of a presidential system that resembles the French model, because the president should have a stabilizing influence politically. A president guarantees continuity of government, which makes it possible for the parliamentary system to choose a government. A president ensures continuity in the representation of Polish interests abroad. A presidential system does not block the development of political pluralism and, at the same time, ensures appropriate representation of the national and state interest and the defense of the raison d'etat.

However, in making predictions about how thing will evolve, it is not possible to cut oneself off from reality. Above all, one has to be aware of the dangers that exist. I say this frequently, but it has to be stressed. The main dangers lies in the petrification of a transitional stage, of social, economic, and political structures—the local government elections failed to produce a breakthrough—and this can turn Poland into a Latin American country—that is, the emergence of a setup, in which market mechanisms do not function and neither do the mechanisms that mediate between the citizen and the authorities. Democracy is essentially about that, and that mechanism is functioning abnormally today, if only in the information field. This state of affairs may also persist, which would have fatal consequences for Poland.

The second danger is of an immediate kind. Society is running out of patience, and society has to be shown that it has prospects, the situation has to be clarified. There is not much today that can be offered in material terms,

but certain moral, spiritual needs have to be satisfied. In order to avoid the dangers that I have mentioned, there has to be an acceleration. The purpose of this acceleration is to make it possible to institute resolute changes in a manner that is within the law. We have to start with an act of that would be of symbolic and of practical significance—a change of president—and, in view of the importance of this matter—we are proposing that Lech Walesa should become the president. There also have to be changes in the composition of the government, because in its present form, it surely is not effective in every respect. We need a new electoral code, parliamentary elections, and the new parliament should pass a constitution and call presidential elections. However, in order to accelerate the process of change in Poland, the president should today be elected by the National Assembly, because it would be the fastest means, requiring no new legal procedures or the conclusion of political compromises. Acceleration is not about revolutionizing a process of change that would be outside the law, but about creating new opportunities for the birth of Polish democracy.

[Cymer] Mr. Senator, in thanking you for our conversation, I would like to mention to you that the Center Accord's growing popularity—that is what opinion polls show—indicates that the sentiments of the Center's leaders are close to those of the public.

Center Accord Leader Criticizes New Group

AU2407114990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Center Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski by Jan Rogala; place and date not given: "Cooperation Is Possible"]

[Text] The Citizens Movement "Democratic Action" was formed in Warsaw two days ago. The grouping brings together former members of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee, and activists from "Solidarity" and the citizens committees. We asked Jaroslaw Kaczynski of the Center Accord to assess this development in terms of Democratic Action as a rival to the Center Accord.

[Kaczynski] I consider the fact that a new group has emerged to be natural and very important for Poland's political life. I have no information at my disposal that is any more detailed than what I know from press reports. The authors of the declaration have expressed their position vis-a-vis the Center Accord. It is clear that this had to happen. However, their attitude toward us is rather short on refinement. We cannot accept their assertion that they are closer to the West than we are.

[Rogala] How, in your opinion, should one interpret that assertion of theirs?

[Kaczynski] I take it to mean that we are more oriental, closer to Asia, undemocratic, and uncultured. They, on the other hand, are the opposite of us—that is, they place themselves closer to the states of West Europe. I think that this is a clear misunderstanding, or a low form of political campaigning.

It is also a misrepresentation to set up a dichotomy between our aspirations and their intentions. They level charges of undemocratic behavior at us, saying that a strong presidency has nothing at all to do with democracy. They depict themselves as advocates of parliamentary-cabinet government. Neither Zbigniew Bujak nor Wladyslaw Frasyniuk are political scientists or experts on the issue. The quasi-presidential system that we are advocating is just as democratic as a parliamentary system, and there are examples that illustrate this. So, it should not be dismissed in such an authoritative manner.

[Rogala] Would you say that the declaration contains any positive elements?

[Kaczynski] We are pleased that Democratic Action has accepted the solution that we have been proposing, regarding the order in which we should proceed: presidential elections first and then parliamentary elections. In our opinion, any other order of events would be dangerous for Poland.

Many well-known people with interesting political histories have announced that they are joining Democratic Action. However, alongside them are names that do not mean all that much in Polish politics, yet. Judging the group on the basis of those well-known people who belong to it, it has to be said that it is a group marked by left-wing and social democratic leanings.

[Rogala] How would you assess prospects for cooperation?

[Kaczynski] All important groups should cooperate on fundamental issues such as economic reform or foreign policy, if, of course, the political landscape after the elections is the same as it is today. However, every form of cooperation means desisting from efforts to set up dichotomies in which one depicts one's own group as an enlightened European force and one's rivals as advocates of antidemocratic means, populism, nationalism, and the like. The creation of dichotomies of this nature does not accord with Poland's fundamental political interests. Abandoning such practices is a condition for cooperation.

Reaction to New Solidarity Faction Reported

AU2407114590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Reaction to the Action"]

[Text] Following the formation on Monday of the Citizens Movement "Democratic Action" [ROAD], a group of "Solidarity"-connected politicians, trade unionists, and intellectuals (most of them members of the original Lech Walesa Citizens Committee and signatories of the Krakow initiative), we asked several participants in the Polish political scene to comment on this event.

Barbara Malak, "Solidarity" spokesman: I am pleased with the emergence of ROAD, and I think its opponents should be pleased as well, for example, the Center Accord, which has been calling for other groups in the "Solidarity" movement to create an identity for themselves.

The involvement of "Solidarity" activists in ROAD is understandable, for they support the Mazowiecki government's philosophy, which stems from the philosophy and ethics of "Solidarity."

On the other hand, the "Solidarity" congress resolved that no political parties would be created, and trade union activists engaging themselves officially or semi-officially in politics are viewed askance.

I think it is difficult to reconcile trade union activity with political activity.

But that is merely my personal opinion—the "Solidarity" authorities have not adapted any stance vis-a-vis ROAD.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Center Accord: The emergence of a second political group out of the "Solidarity" movement is something natural and favorable. It is difficult to say anything on the basis of a mere programmatic declaration. The call for a presidential election before the parliamentary election has been borrowed from the Center Accord, but it also signifies a break with the way of thinking that was typical of the period when the Krakow initiative emerged. This is also a positive feature.

On the other hand, I cannot agree with the view, presented by Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Zbigniew Bujak at a news conference, that there should either be a strong presidency, or a strong democracy. This is a false idea, and difficult to agree with. The Center Accord suggests a presidential system modeled on the French one, and it is difficult to accuse France of not being a democratic state.

On the basis of the list of founders, which contains very well-known people, as well as people I have never heard of, I think this will be a left-wing group, similar to Western social democratic ones.

Jozef Slisz, "Solidarity" Polish Peasant Party: It is good for political formations enjoying broad social support to emerge. I think ROAD is a group which many people in Poland will approve of.

A political stage consisting of the Center Accord and ROAD, with the "Solidarity" Polish Peasant Party between the two, is in a position to determine Poland's future.

Leszek Moczulski, Confederation for an Independent Poland: There has been a need for a political group like this since at least 1981. We welcome it with a maximum of applause, because we think Polish political life needs strong partners with whom one can argue, discuss, and cooperate. The Action may be a very significant group. I think it will be a democratic left-wing group, in the good, European sense of the term.

It would be good if ROAD considered itself to be a political party, for political milieux are hiding themselves within amorphous structures instead of subjecting themselves to the harsh rules applicable to parties.

Henryk Wozniakowski, deputy government spokesman: The government is pleased with the emergence of genuine political groups with a definite program and clear objectives, for this encourages political culture and makes political life more foreseeable and therefore safer.

ROAD contains many valuable and well-known people, who have proved their worth in political and civic activity. Just like the Forum of the Democratic Right, ROAD subscribes to the Krakow Alliance for Democracy, with its positive, though not uncritical, support for the government. Support from this direction, and in such a form, will certainly be advantageous for the government as well as the country.

Government, Farmers Fail To Reach Accord

AU2407144590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Edmund Szot report: "Talks Between the Government and the Farmers"]

[Text] Even on the last day of the talks between farmers representatives and the government, no accord was reached. "Despite the fact that the talks proceeded in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere, we failed to reconcile the stances of both sides," said Michal Wojtczak, vice minister of agriculture and the food economy.

During the three-day talks (17 through 19 July), agreement was reached about credits for agriculture, and the farmers accepted a long-term plan for improving the Polish dairy industry. But there remained a fundamental difference in views about minimum guaranteed prices, as well as emergency undertakings in milk production, in other words grants for milk producers.

The first part of Thursday's meeting was devoted to prices. The farmers still insisted on guaranteed minimum prices, which would reimburse the production costs incurred by some farms, but the government representatives held their position whereby the introduction of prices fixed by administrative means would contradict the principles of a market economy, in favor of which the Sejm has spoken out on behalf of all society. Mieczyslaw Stelmach, acting director of the Agriculture Ministry, who chaired this part of the talks, said that some kind of "golden mean" acceptable to both sides must be found.

As an alternative solution, Stelmach cited the possible result of lower interest rates for credits granted to enterprises that procure agricultural produce. If Polish Grain Enterprises currently pay 70,000 zlotys [Z] for one quintal of wheat, then by virtue of extra grants out of the budget to make up the difference in credit interest rates, they could increase the price of wheat by Z11,000 over

one year, or Z6,000 over six months, without the need to increase the prices of baked goods.

"The government appreciates the arguments of the producer, who wants to win back the costs of production," said Stelmach. "However, it cannot agree to reimbursing these costs in the form of administratively fixed prices."

The second part of Thursday's talks was devoted to milk production. The farmers accepted a long-term program for improving this sector of the food industry, but no agreement was reached about short-term measures. Michal Wojtczak, vice minister of agriculture, who chaired this part of the meeting, said that introducing grants for producers would not improve the quality of milk and of market supplies one little bit. The most it would do is cause another meeting on this same topic next month.

In view of the major differences in opinion on basic topics, it was decided to adjourn the talks until Tuesday, 24 July. This will be a plenary debate, in other words all the subjects—credits, minimum prices, and the dairy industry, will be discussed.

The representatives of the National Union of Farmers, Farmers Circles, and Organizations [KZRKiOR] plus Farmers "Solidarity" said that no agreement had been reached because the government did not present any concrete acceptable proposals, even though the farmers unions had expressed a desire for compromise.

"Our interests were understood, but no decisions were made," said Renata Wygrzynska, member of the KZRKiOR Main Council. "We realize we cannot win everything, but neither can we lose everything."

Government Resumes Talks With Farmers

LD2407115890 Warsaw PAP in English 1126 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—The government resumed talks with representatives of farmers' unions and organizations at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy here today.

Agriculture Vice-Minister Mieczyslaw Stelmach presented new government proposals meeting halfway postulates put forward by farmers earlier and concerning crediting, procurement prices and improvement in the dairy production.

Joint Communique Issued

LD2507075190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] A joint communique issued last night citing decisions and also differences ended the talks that had been continuing in Warsaw since last week between representatives of the farmers trade unions and agricultural organizations and representatives of the government. The decisions include the newest proposals presented by the government side yesterday morning, which are a reply to the suggestions the farmers presented earlier.

A preferential credit for agriculture will be introduced for the purchase of means of production, with an 18 percent annual interest rate. The government and Farmers Solidarity recognized that the decisions relating to a credit for the procurement of grains at an interest rate of 20 percent create conditions for procurement units to set prices for wheat from this year's harvest at a level not lower than around 75,000 to 82,000 zlotys per quintal. The National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Organizations and also the Council of Farmers Branch Unions maintained their previous stances on minimum guaranteed prices at a level of 90,000 zlotys. For the restructuring and modernization of production, dairy cooperatives will receive 500 billion zlotys, and farmers producing milk 300 billion. A detailed communique will be published by the press.

More on Communique

LD2507082590 Warsaw PAP in English 0713 GMT 25 Jul 90

[text] Warsaw, July 25—A meeting between the government and representatives of farmers' unions and organizations which started in the morning yesterday ended in the adoption of a joint communique late last night.

The communique sums up the results of four-day talks on credits for farming, the organization and prices of the procurement of cereals and rape, dairy production and protectionist foreign trade policy with regard to polish farmers.

As concerns credits for farmers, it was agreed that banks would provide sufficient credits for procurement of agricultural produce at the interest rate of 20 percent annually as was decided by the government earlier on. The total amount of credits cannot exceed 450 billion zlotys and individual creditors will get no more than 20 million zlotys in a single loan.

As for dairy production, it was decided that dairies restructuring and modernizing their production would be given conditional aid totalling 500 billion zlotys. Also, 300 billion zlotys will be assigned for milk producers to keep or develop cattle-breeding in the form of forgiving their debt or granting bonuses in areas where milk procurement prices are lowest. This sum is bigger than the one originally assigned by the government.

It was also agreed that the government would create conditions conducive to exports of polish agricultural products alongside rational protection of domestic market.

The communique also stated that not all postulates of farmers were fulfilled while the adopted settlements took into account the country's socioeconomic situation and initiated the work on the principles of farming policy and instruments of its implementation.

Kiszczak Views Agriculture Ministry Situation

LD2407193190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The extraordinary commission appointed by the Sejm to study the circumstances surrounding the violation of the immunity of eight deputies during the removal of farmers occupying the agriculture ministry building at the end of June today questioned internal affairs ministers. This included the minister at that time, Czeslaw Kiszczak, at present, Krzysztof Kozlowski, as well as the former deputy prime minster and agriculture minister, Czeslaw Janicki. As chairman of the commission, Janusz Szymanski said there is no doubt the treatment of the deputies by the police was a violation of deputies immunity, but further investigations will be conducted. This is what Czeslaw Kiszczak told the committee in conclusion:

[Begin Kiszczak recording] I was guided solely by the exigencies of the law. I acted in good faith, based on the law, based on constitutional provisions. I had no intention of violating the rights of the deputies who were present in the Agriculture Ministry building. I would like to inform the esteemed commission that, in a earlier talk on 21 June at 8 A.M., I presented this document here to Prime Minister Mazowiecki, relieving me of all duties, in view of my intention to totally withdraw from political, public and professional life, and my intention of passing into a state of complete retirement. In these circumstances I understood that I was not interested in any illegal activity whatsoever, in illegal solutions to the conflict in the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy, and all the more so [I was not interested in] violating the immunity of deputies of the Sejm of the Polish Republic. I simply believed that as long as I was holding this post, it was my responsibility to loyally fulfill my duties to the end. [end recording]

Internal Affairs Minster Krzysztof Kozlowski pointed to the contradiction between the standards laying down order and the privilege of deputies immunity. He said responsibility for the events under investigation should at least be shared.

New Agricultural Political Group

LD2407211190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Another political grouping is on the map of Poland: ROLA, or the Peasant-Agrarian Option Movement [Ruch Opcja Ludowo-Agrarna], whose members are private farmers, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity members of the West Pomeranian region, and political activists from other voivodships.

[Begin reporter Baumqart recording] One cannot say that it is a political party or will be one, because there are various political options in this movement, including the Polish Peasant Party, the Green Party, and Private Farmers Solidarity and Agricultural Circles. As a movement, it is a wide platform: The first joint proposal since the war for farmers and for those people who see Poland's future in agriculture, above divisions, above all the specific political proposals that already exist. So what it will be like in two years' time, it is hard to say today, but for today it is a sociopolitical movement with the name ROLA: simple and understandable for farmers and all friends of agriculture. The program is primarily agrarian policy. We think only a healthy agriculture can lift Poland up out of her troubles, out of this economic depression. At this stage, in the coming twenty years, we see no possibility, no chance for another branch of industry. Agriculture and food processing: that is what can make Poland into an economic power in Europe. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Seminar Examines New Role for Armed Forces

LD2407200190 Warsaw PAP in English 1916 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—A seminar on "the tasks and organization of the armed forces of the Republic in the light of the transformations in European politics," organized by the OKP Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group, was held in Warsaw today.

Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski stated in part: "We remember about the defensive character of our Army but this cannot be a weak Army. The period of sharp savings which has also affected the military, must end. The Polish Army must be a modern Army with cadres prepared to defend the country. The negative stance of society to the Army has lasted too long. Fortunately, a sentiment for the Army has remained in the masses. We want the Polish national Army to be loved by the nation, as was the case before the war."

The seminar, which was attended by Sejm deputies and senators as well as generals and senior officers of the Polish Army, touched upon all the most important problems of the functioning of the present system of national defence and the armed forces.

In a statement for PAP, Vice Chairman of the Sejm Committee of National Defence Deputy Jacek Szymanderski said that many of the topics tackled at the seminar would be included in the agenda of the Sejm National Defence Committee.

"It follows from our meeting that restructuring in the Army is being conducted improperly, frequently with a view to protecting one's post," the deputy said, adding: "The Army must be sovereign, national, Polish to the full. We do not want to allow possible unrest in the USSR, and this is possible, to spill into our country. Our tremendous, heavy Army is generally unadjusted to the contemporary alignment of forces in Europe. Our Army does not need restructuring, it must be as if created anew," Deputy Szymanderski said.

Screening of Former Secret Police Staff

AU2407112590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Out of the Depths of Secret Departments"]

[Text] The screening of officials who used to work in the most important departments of the former Security Service [SB] will begin next Thursday. The departments involved are: Department III, responsible for combating the opposition; Department IV, responsible for keeping tabs on the church, as well as academic people and artists (both departments were supervised by Sejm Deputy and Colonel Jerzy Karpacz); Department V, responsible for trade unions in work places, in other words "Solidarity;" and Department VI, responsible for "agriculture."

The screening commission consists mainly of Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] deputies, plus other people having no connection with the Interior Ministry. The commission has been working for two weeks already. So far it has screened officials from Department I (intelligence), Department II (counterintelligence), Bureau C (archives), Bureau B (eavesdropping, observation from safe havens, etc.), the Bureau of Ciphers, and the Department of Technology.

Those who were employed in the SB up to 31 July 1989 and have applied for jobs in the Office of State Protection [UOP], police, and other units under the control of the Interior Ministry are being screened.

About 8,500 people have applied for such jobs.

The Interior Ministry will not accept anyone over 55 years of age. That means that practically every single person who has held a leadership posts in the ministry (directors, supervisors, and their deputies) will be dismissed.

This screening is the first stage in a cadres review, and the final acceptance of employees does not depend on it alone. Final decisions in this matter will be made by the heads of individual Interior Ministry departments.

The screening is being carried out on the basis of personnel files, references from supervisors, interviews with the applicants, and information on the work of the Interior Ministry and applicants themselves.

The commission will complete its work by the end of July. Final decisions concerning employment have to be made by ministry departmental chiefs in accordance with so-called political legislation, no later than 11 August.

The members of the commission are bound by strict secrecy, because they are now in the possession of secrets concerning the intelligence and counterintelligence.

The Screening Commission consists of the following: Chairman: Andrzej Milczanowski, deputy director of the UOP; Deputy chairman: Jerzy Zimowski, OKP Sejm deputy; Secretary: Wojciech Raduchowski-Brochwicz, an employee of Department II; Remaining members: Tadeusz Bien, Sejm deputy; Jerzy Ciemnewski, under secretary in the Office of the Council of Ministers; Wojciech Bazydlo, director of the UOP Investigations Department; Maj. Piotr Calinski from the Police Trade Union; Piotr Krawczyk, adviser in the Office of the Council of Ministers; Col. Boguslaw Strzelecki, deputy commander in chief of police; Col. Czeslaw Zmuda, director of the cabinet of the minister of internal affairs; and Krzysztof Zabinski, OKP deputy.

Internal Affairs Ministry Personnel Changes

AU2407151890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Jul 90 p 1

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Places Vacated by the Generals"]

[Text] We understand that Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will shortly recall two Internal Affairs Ministry deputy ministers who hold the rank of general. He intends to appoint Professor Jan Widacki of the Catholic University of Lublin and Jerzy Zimowski, Citizens Parliamentary Club deputy, to the posts vacated by them.

Professor Jan Widacki is 42 years old and is employed at the Law School (Criminal Law Department) of the Catholic University of Lublin. He has been a member of the "Solidarity" Social Council for Legislative Initiatives since 1981 and has recently been providing expert advice to Sejm and Senate commissions that deal with the law and the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Jerzy Zimowski is 49 years old and a graduate of the Jagiellonian University's Law School. He worked for the Szczecin Regional Prosecutor's Office from 1964 to 1972 and has been a legal counselor since 1980. He interned in December 1981. He is deputy chairman of the Sejm Commission for Administration and Internal Affairs.

General Henry Dankowski, 61 years old, is leaving the ministry. He has served in the Internal Affairs Ministry since 1982. Before that he served more than 30 years as an officer in the Polish Army, where he was an artillery specialist. He was recently General Kiszczak's first deputy. In the fall of last year, he issued the order to destroy Security Service files in Piotrkow Voivodship.

General Zbigniew Pudysz is 59 years old. He has been at the ministry since September 1957. During the years 1950-51 he worked as a Polish Youth Union instructor in Rzeszow, and later worked at the Poznan Voivodship Prosecutor's Office and the Office of the Prosecutor General. Recently, one of his duties was to supervise the work of the press spokesman for the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Military Police To Replace Investigation Division

LD2407220190 Warsaw PAP in English 1713 GMT 24 Jul 90

[text] Warsaw, July 24—Military police will replace the hitherto department of prevention and investigation of

the Military Internal Service (WSW), a conference on the Army and defence was told today.

In another move, the WSW plans to cut the staff of the department of military counterintelligence and subordinate it to the general headquarters of the Polish Army.

Military Police Document Destruction Viewed

LD2407221190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] In association with the publication of an article by GAZETA WYBORCZA today on the destruction of the archives of the Internal Military Service, the press spokesman for the National Defense Ministry, Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski, clarifies that in the Army, just as in civilian institutions, the appropriate regulations are in force specifying the treatment of documents. Among other things, they specify the retention period and also the criteria that must be fulfilled prior to their destruction. The matters touched on in the publication in GAZETA WYBORCZA will be examined precisely in these terms, stated the press spokesman for the National Defense Ministry.

Miners Call for 'Decisive Negotiations'

LD2407215390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The chairman and also the secretary of the Solidarity National Mining Commission [KKG], Andrzej Lipko and Miroslaw Richter, sent a telex to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the heads of the Ministries of Finance, Industry, Labor and Social Policy, and also to the National Commission of Solidarity in Gdansk and Silesia-Dabrowa Solidarity. They inform them that the KKG has proposed to the government side to undertake talks on Friday [27 July] and to simultaneously present the subjects contained in nine points. By virtue of the interpretation of our proposal, we read in the telex, we cannot accept a meeting with representatives of mining workforces with this type of format. The situation in mining and also the tensions among mining workforces demand undertaking decisive negotiations and concrete decisions. In association with the above, not undertaking talks on 27 July coupled with the lack of decisions associated with this is seen by us as their ignoring our postulates and problems, which can be (?met) by the statutory actions of our union, states the telex.

The KKG has proposed nine important questions. It demands their resolution during the proposed Friday talks with representatives of the government. The point, among other things, is to present: data relating to mining and contained in the letter of intent to the World Bank; the timetable for restructuring hard coal mining; the policy of the price of coal; the financing of hospitals, professional training and housing construction in mining; the exclusion from taxation on the increase in the wages fund for the current year; and the remuneration of this year's graduates of mining schools.

Justice Ministry To Investigate Parliament Scam

LD2407175690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The prosecutor's department of the Justice Ministry has on the basis of materials passed on by the head of the Chancellory of the Sejm recommended that the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw commence investigations on the matter of the acquisition, through the mediation of the Chancellory of the Sejm, of 45 cars in a manner contrary to the law by deputies of the previous Sejm. The investigation is to examine whether the activity of deputies who received cheaper cars as a result of these decisions has not the characteristics of procurement under false pretences. The decisions of the prosecutor's office on this matter could constitute a precedent for the evaluation of similar activities in units of the socialized economy, and also in state and social institutions.

KERM Deliberates on Energy Industry

LD2407215990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers Economic Committee [KERM], deliberating in Warsaw, is considering the development of the energy and fuel industry in Poland. The report presented by the Ministry of Industry contains both a diagnosis of the current situation and prognoses for the fuel and energy balance, as well as proposals for certain strategic solutions relating to the structure of energy sources in Poland and also the question of making our country independent in energy. Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk, presenting this document, said that in current conditions he regards the development of nuclear energy in Poland as unprofitable at least until the year 2000. He also stated that decisions on the matter of the Zarnowiec power station should be made after the holidays at the latest.

Solidarity Representatives May Establish Network

LD2407204390 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Gdansk, July 24—Representatives of the Solidarity plant commission of several big workplaces from around Poland met in the Gdansk shipyard today. No newsmen were allowed to participate.

Unofficial sources report that the meeting focused on the possibility of re-establishing the so-called 'Siec'—a network of big enterprises like those which operated in 1981 and which tackled issues of economic transformations. 9 years ago the network comprised the Gdansk shipyard, the Lenin steelworks, the Warski steelworks in Szczecin, and the Wujek coal mine.

Solidarity National Commission Holds Meeting

LD2407225290 Warsaw PAP in English 2109 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Gdansk, July 24—The Presidium of the National Commission of Solidarity held a meeting in Gdansk today, agreeing that it would be represented by Vice Chairmen Lech Kaczsynski and Stefan Jurczak and a member of the Presidium Wojciech Arkuszewski at a meeting between the trade union and the presidium of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group to take place July 25.

The meeting will deal with the trade union drafted bill on trade unions, prepared and accepted by the national commission a week ago. The bill is to be tabled to the Sejm as soon as possible.

Kaczynski presented a tentative draft of trade union consultative offices attached to regional boards. Their task will be to assist plant commissions in negotiations on working conditions and pay with employers.

The creation of consultative offices and the elaboration of the bill on plant collective labour contracts was deemed by the Presidium to be one of the most important tasks of the union authorities in the nearest future because negotiations skills and effectiveness on the plant level will determine the force of Solidarity in the new economic system of the country, according to press spokeswoman of the National Commission Barbara Malak.

In connection with the Congress of Health and Physical Culture to take place in September 1990, the Solidarity presidium thought it necessary to democratize the principles of creating physical culture associations, particularly the Polish Olympic committee and bring about democratic elections of new authorities of such associations as soon as possible.

Survey on 22 Jul National Holiday Released

AU2407122090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 19 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "TRYBUNA Survey: 22 July—Chance Or Slavery"]

[Text] Up until last year, 22 July was the most important national holiday, but the Sejm has decided it must give way to other holidays. The controversy surrounding this day continues nonetheless. So what was 22 July 1944: a chance for Poland, or slavery? We asked historians and politicians for an answer.

Edward Osobka-Morawski: Slavery? What sort of slavery? The left wing played a great role with heads held high, and no matter what some people in the left did later, this role cannot be denied. What they did was a momentous achievement. I mean borders, the agricultural reform....

Slavery was felt by those who did not want Wroclaw and Szczecin, but demanded the return of Lvov and Vilnius. The Polish National Liberation Committee [PKWN] negotiated borders that are recognized by the entire world today. The left wing achieved something which the London government in exile failed to do. In view of the inability of other political forces to govern, the PKWN was an historical necessity.

Tadeusz Iwinski: One perceives two dangers concerning 22 July—an historical approach toward this subject, and a classification of the accompanying events and processes into black and white. I was not alive on 22 July 1944, so I have no personal relationship with that day. I do feel, however, that in the conditions that prevailed then and with the balance of forces that existed at the time, the development of events was largely inevitable. To be honest, worse solutions were possible, but were there any better ones? I doubt it. The July Manifesto presented a great chance; that is an objective fact. But the fact that this chance was not fully utilized is another matter.

The following survey has been held several times in the United States. Fragments of the U.S. Constitution were read to people in the streets, and they were asked to sign their names beneath it. There was a general refusal to do so, in the belief that the text of the constitution is subversive. I think that if something similar were to be organized in Poland in connection with the July Manifesto, the text of which is hardly known anyway, the result would be completely different. The ideals and objectives contained in the Manifesto are wonderful, but their implementation was not so wonderful. We Poles are not too talented at drawing the right conclusions from history. Hegel said that history never taught anyone anything. In this context, the following conclusion presents itself: Let us not waste chances, for they may never be repeated.

Bronislaw Geremek: This is not a subject I care to raise, and I would not like to state obvious truths.

Jerzy J. Wiatr: The date 22 July is one of those dates that have always been controversial and always will be, because, on the one hand, it marked the beginning of the reconstruction of Polish statehood, but, on the other hand, the way in which this statehood emerged, the composition of the PKWN, and the dependence on the USSR turned this day into a tragedy for many Polish patriots who were still loyal to the Polish authorities in London.

Both sides were right to a major extent. The London government could refer to international law, the prewar constitution, and most of all to a national psyche that refused to recognize foreign diktat. The Lublin authorities were backed mainly by the desire of Poles to live in their own state, settle scores with Nazism, move the border westwards to the Odra and Nysa rivers, and undertake the country's reconstruction and political reforms.

It is true that the new authorities were opposed by a part of society and most of its political elites, but it is also true that they gained the support of major sectors of society, albeit for various reasons. Therefore, a polarization occurred, which weighed down upon the entire 45 years that followed.

The historian of tomorrow will provide a fair and objective assessment of this day. Without denying the injustice caused to Poland by the division of Europe following World War II and the system of imperial hegemony, nor the grief suffered by Poles who struggled against this situation, he will render justice to the Polish left-wing forces who took it upon themselves to rebuild the Polish state under extreme conditions.

Let us state clearly that it is not the Polish left wing that created these conditions. It did not depend on the left wing whether or not Poland and the whole of Central and East Europe would find themselves under Stalinist hegemony. This was decided by the victory of the Soviet Army and the acquiescence of the Western powers. Poland had no alternative but to proceed to postwar reconstruction under limited sovereignty. Accepting this situation, the PKWN created the conditions for the nation's economic and cultural reconstruction, and initiated essential economic reforms. All this took place in a situation reminiscent of classical Greek tragedies, where interests clash with interests and no one has a monopoly over justice and patriotism.

Leszek Moczulski: Of course 22 July is a date of slavery, just like 22 July 1917, when Jozef Pisudski was arrested, or 22 July 1795, when the agreement to partition Poland was concluded in St. Petersburg. In 1944, Josef Vissarionovich Stalin was most probably under the influence of the 20 July putsch in Berlin, and demanded a rapid solution to the Polish question by creating a Polish republic. Representatives of the so-called Polish side were given the so-called July Manifesto, after which Wanda Wasilewska and Stefan Jedrychowicz, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were appointed to create such a republic. All the signs from heaven and on earth indicate that Poland was to be a republic.

This was therefore an obvious chance for the people from Moscow, but not for Poland. The date 22 July ruined the chance of settling Polish affairs in accordance with social expectations, of settling them by the London government. I do not mean to say that London's policy was the best. It was quite simply a Polish policy.

Antoni Czubinski: A chance or slavery? I think both. Slavery because this was a successful attempt by a neighbor to impose his system upon us, and an undemocratic system at that. But it was also a chance for progressive and democratic forces who could take advantage of the situation, assume power, carry out reforms, strengthen influence, and develop the country. From a distance of several decades, we can already assess the way in which the left wing made use of this chance. This is where a pessimistic note creeps in. The left wing failed to make proper use of it. The fact that a minority imposed its will on the majority is not so tragic; that has happened more than once in history. The question is whether this form of revolution gained society's approval. As we know today, it did not.

Andrzej Garlicki: I think this was a chance to avoid complete slavery. We did not become a 17th Soviet republic. I do not know whether or not that is the result of Stalin's will. A historian with no access to documents cannot say for sure. In any case, to simplify the matter somewhat, it was not a question of choosing between communist rule, between the "Moscow agents" as they were called, and rule by people from the West. The choice was different—either the "agents," or another Soviet republic. We were not in Greece's situation.

Jan Jozef Lipski: Of course it was slavery. At a time when the fate of Poland had not yet been determined, all the conditions necessary for what came later were created.

We had no chance. Stalin had already prepared a scenario of later events, and we were not meant to become another Soviet republic, but a satellite state.

Jerzy Topolski: I do not think 22 July was a turning point. It was the result of earlier decisions reached by the great powers. That date did not perform a momentous role, neither in the positive sense nor in the negative sense. Of course, it is an important day in 20th century Polish history, but what happened on that day was not the result of autonomous Polish decisions. In any case, what happened in July 1944 was not a turning point for me.

Jaruzelski, Deputies Discuss Children's Rights

LD2407205690 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski met today with deputies who are engaged in legislative activities connected with children. The next meeting of the Sejm is to hear a government bill on ratifying the convention on Child's Rights, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1989.

The deputies spoke about international and Polish aspects of ratification. They said that the question was specially important for Poland as a Polish delegation had put forward a draft convention in 1978 while the team which worked on its final shape was headed by Professor Adam Lopatka of Poland.

Deputies Assembly Discusses Bills, National Day

AU2407143990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—Tuesday [24 July] morning the Assembly of Deputies resumed the debates on the bill regarding the reorganization of state economic units as autonomous and trading companies, started still last week.

The agenda of this last parliamentary week—before the parliament's summer holidays—is quite rich. Among the normative acts to be debated are some bills on adoptions, on the temporary suspension of farmland sales, on Romania's national day.

Also this week the two chambers of the parliament will have a joint session to found the interparliamentary group and to discuss questions concerning Romania's foreign policy.

'Autonomous' Company Bill Debated

AU2407184690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1529 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—In nearly five hours of discussions on a bill stating the terms under which states economic units become autonomous companies or business societies, the Chamber of Deputies put the finishing touches to the chapter on the general status of autonomous companies to be created, according to passed regulations, in key sectors of the national economy. Like in the previous days, the discussions were productive: through an efficient cooperation among deputies and between them and cabinet representatives ambiguities in certain formulations were replaced by clear and to-the-point language.

As discussions began on the next chapter of the same bill the organization of business societies a more controversial tone became prevalent. There were speakers who, claiming a measure of complementarity between the bill and others to come, even suggested that the chapter be postponed until the government introduces in parliament other normative acts directly linked to the business societies discussion. Against the idea spoke other members of the chamber as well as the government representative, Minister Adrian Severin, who argued that the move could delay and prevent urgent actions announced in the new government's programme from taking effect. Consequently, discussions began on the chapter on the organization of state economic units as business societies unless they become autonomous companies. On the first and most important article lengthy discussions prevented its adoption: the chamber decided to refer it again to the economic commission for discussion jointly with the agriculture commission to resolve differences on the fate of certain state farms which should be excepted from this bill's provisions, some speakers said and pleaded for their being the subject of another normative act.

Discussions on the bill are scheduled also in the afternoon session.

So far the Assembly of Deputies has examined 25 of the 56 articles of the bill regarding the reorganization of state economic units as autonomous and trading companies.

According to the regulations adopted so far within the chapter referring to the functioning of trading companies, the economic units of nationwide interest are to be organized as trading companies under government resolution, while those of local interest under the decision of the local state administration body.

As for the equal and free-of-charge distribution of bearer bonds up to an amount of 30 per cent of the set social capital ratio to all the Romanian citizens employed in the present state economic units, three ideas were essentially formulated: to postpone the debate on the respective article, re-examine it with the relevant senate commissions and even exclude it from the new bill with a view to working out another normative act on the respective matter.

On taking the floor, the government's representative, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, specified that the government decided to maintain its viewpoint on that controversial article being also willing to help amend it after parliament's debates and till viable solutions are reached in accordance with national interests.

Consequently, the Assembly of Deputies decided to procrastinate the debate on that article so that the three specialty standing commissions of the lower and higher chambers could re-examine it.

The works continue.

Senate Proposes 1 Dec as New National Day

AU2407134490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1212 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania's Senate, that gathered in plenum on July 24, unanimously voted a draft law which was sponsored by a group of senators, setting Romania's national day for December 1, the day Transylvania united with Romania, in 1918, to accomplish the unitary Romanian national state.

The memorandum to that bill, read by Senator Romulus Vulpescu, shows inter alia: "The union of all Romanians, accomplished on December 1, 1918, and its crowning, the sanctioning of the unitary, sovereign, independent, indivisible and inalienable state of law, are a crucial event in the Romanian people's millenary history. The senators' commission proposed that draft law on the basis of that historic decision, made by the Romanians in all the ten traditional provinces, a decision which, in Alba Iulia, reflected the reality of national and statal unity.

They also continued their talks on the bill on the reorganization of state-run economic units as autonomous units and commercial companies.

During this morning's session the senators addressed ministries a number of questions related to various aspects of the socioeconomic life.

'Moving Moment,' 'Emotional Meaning'

AU2407175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1543 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—By proclaiming 1 December the national day, Romania's freely and democratically elected Senate passed an act of historic significance for the Romanian nation. That was the leading idea of the senators' addresses after the national day bill was passed.

Taking the floor in Bucharest's Omnia Hall, seat of the Senate, Viorel Faur, senator for Bihor, told senators and journalists: "This is my most moving moment in the Romanian senate and I congratulate its initiative group for this very important political act: We have chosen the right date for our national day since 1 December is symbolic of the Romanian people's unvanquishable force and its national unity yesterday, today and tomorrow. To a Transylvanian, this day carries an even greater emotional meaning. 1 December is at last the national day of the Romanian people.

Titus Raveica, senator for Iasi, stressed in his turn: 1 December comes in the logic of things, of facts. It is in effect the Romanian people's true holiday. May I quote our great Iorga (a towering personality and great historian): "With our brothers so far away and with our enemies so close by, we Romanians survived one exile after another. For far fewer evils the most beautiful countries are deserted. We have stayed on sword in hand at all four points, and when its steel failed for one instant only to be secretly re-made, we faced brutality of all kinds with the thin weapon of our intelligence, and here we are at home again today." May I always be at home from now on, said the speaker, and may intelligence and inventivity be our main raw material.

Dan Iosif, senator for Giurgiu, said among other things that maybe the bill's memorandum should have said that 1 December had been Romania's national day before it was abolished by communists who replaced it by 23 August. None of us can dismiss the day of 23 August when we freed ourselves from fascists. But if we no longer celebrate it, then we can celebrate no other day than 1 December as our national day. Neither 16 and 17 December, nor 21-22 December can give anyone the right to cancel 1 December. Communists alone dared to cancel it. Let us hope that none will ever be so bold as to do it again, he said.

The senators were joined by the Senate president, Alexandru Birladeanu, in expressing their deep love for the country.

Session Concludes; To Resume 25 Jul

AU2507064090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1738 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—The major bill under the Romanian Senate's debate for several days referring to the reorganization of state economic units as autonomous and trading companies developed into thorough and long discussions in the Tuesday [24 July] session as well. So, 33 articles which are included in four chapters were debated and approved under the titles: final dispositions, autonomous units, trading companies, lease and rent as well as the beginning of the chapter: association, anti-monopolism and free competition. To be still discussed are article 22 which stipulates the setting up of the national agency for privatization and article 23 referring to the issue of bearer bonds with nominal values of 1,000 lei, each, up to an amount of 30 per cent of the social capital ratio set by the trading companies.

Attending today's session on government's behalf were Messrs. Eugen Dijmarescu, Adrian Severin and Mihai Constantinescu, who successfully cooperated with the senators in finalizing the amendments proposed for certain articles.

At 17:00 hours the Senate's president suggested the conclusion of works in plenum so as to enable the standing commissions to meet, analyze and prepare the reports on a set of bills tabled by the government, which will make the object of next days' debates.

The Senate will meet in plenum Wednesday morning.

Brucan on 'Military Plot' Against Ceausescu

AU2407144290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1208 GMT 24 Jul 90

["General Ion Ionita, the Dissident Minister of National Defence"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—In an article in the newspaper "ADEVARUL," marking three years since the death of Ion Ionita, former general and minister of national defence (over 1966-1976), Mr. Silviu Brucan highlights significant aspects of the activity carried through by the general who, as early as 1976, tried to organize a military plot to overthrow Ceausescu's dictatorship. He also mentions the names of his close associates: Generals Costyal [spelling as received] Stefan and Nicolae Militaru.

Outlining the conditions that provided for such an action at that time, Mr. Brucan shows that things were different in 1983 and 1984. Consequently, it was possible to even set the date of the action: October 15-17, 1984, when a state visit was to be paid to East Germany. Six months later, General Militaru, "who carried through a tireless conspirational activity in the Army, managed to create a breach inside the troops guarding the headquarters of the CC [Central Committee] of the

RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and of the presidential palace." These actions proved their usefulness on December 22, 1989, Mr. Brucan points out.

"This retrospective glance is needed," Mr. Silviu Brucan says, "since people who discovered they had courage after December 22 are now trying with all their might to dwarf the merits of individuals who worked against Ceausescu's dictatorship and to present the plans to topple it as a "confiscation of the revolution." The smart ones want to shift the centre of the fight for democracy on to 1990, when there was no danger and no risk anymore. The generals' plot of 1983-1984 must be praised as the acme of Romanian dissidence, as a lofty example of moral courage and of political-military thinking, which does honour to the Romanian Army. And General Ionita is its hero," Mr Brucan writes in conclusion.

Interior Ministry Statement on Gendarmerie Troops

AU2407205290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Report on "communique" issued by the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior in Bucharest on 24 July —live or recorded]

[Text] In connection with comments made by Radio Free Europe [RFE] and Deutsche Welle concerning the creation and mission of gendarmerie troops, the press bureau of the Ministry of Interior is authorized to make the following statements:

In accordance with a government decision adopted on 5 July, the gerdarmerie troops in Romania were set up from the old guard and order troops, which were appropriately strengthened, to meet current requirements to defend lawful order and prevent any acts of violence that might jeopardize the process of the country's progress toward democracy.

The adoption of the name of gendarmerie is nothing more than a return to a name that denotes a traditional military branch in the history of Romania's Armed Forces, which, along the years, has participated not only to maintaining public order but also in the battles waged by the country's army against various aggressors. Currently, almost 90-percent of gendarmerie troops are active soldiers, that is of soldiers called up for regular military service. The commissioned and noncommissioned officers of these troops are appointed to the command of various units and subunits; they are graduates of the military schools of the Ministry of Interior and, for certain special tasks, of the Ministry of National Defense.

The release of these details has become necessary as the aforementioned foreign radio stations, that is, RFE and Deutsche Welle, claimed that the gendarmerie troops consist of employees of the former State Security Department, whose duty is to suppress antigovernment demonstrations and carry out antiterrorist actions. Such claims are totally unfounded, as, in accordance with the government's decision, the gerdarmerie units have the following tasks to fulfill: to guard very important units, such as diplomatic missions, central state institutions, radio and telecommunication stations, combines, vulnerable economic enterprises, and so forth; and to participate, alongside the police, in maintaining public order and fighting street crime, thus enhancing the climate of civic order and security throughout the country.

This was the communique released by the press bureau of the Ministry of Interior.

Iliescu Receives National Students' Delegation

AU2407210190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—President Ion Iliescu of Romania received, Tuesday 24 July at Cotroceni Palace, representatives of the National Independent Student Union.

The students Corneliu Zugravu, the union's president, Aurelian Jiga, its secretary-general, and members Raluca Stanciu, Gabriel Dumitrascu and Cristian Lubache presented their union's aims and lines of action in support of the students' rights and interests in agreement with the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. They spoke about the union's concern with the new academic year, with the students' living and learning conditions, their scholarships and social security, and about the students' participation in the making of the new school act and other normative acts concerning students.

President Ion Iliescu appreciated the substance of the problems and the importance of finding objective and realistic solutions to them in due time, in consideration of the organizational diversity of the student movement.

Roman Receives, Talks With Fiat Company Official

AU2407175290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1600 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Tuesday [24 July] Alfredo Amellone, Fiat's director for Eastern Europe.

The talk covered the development of cooperation between Romanian car-making enterprises and Fiat, especially through the re-equipment of Romania's car-making units in consideration of its technical and human potential. The possibility to put Romania's tourist potential to good use was also discussed since a large part of the capital invested in re-equipment is planned to be used in tourism, when it is paid back.

The meeting was attended by Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge of economic guidance, and Luigi Amaduzzi, Italy's ambassador in Bucharest.

At the end of the meeting, Alfredo Amellone told the press: I had a very open exchange of ideas with the prime minister which showed that the prospects for cooperation are good. The areas that Fiat would like to expand its cooperation in are farm machinery, tractors, industrial vehicles, buses, and on that line we have had contacts with the Romanian side.

Trial of Ceausescu's Sister Adjourned

AU2407205990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1735 GMT 24 Jul 90

["Law: The Slatina Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—The case brought against Dorel Bilan, ex-manager of the "Cabana Rusciori" restaurant owned by the Scornicesti Producer Cooperative Farm, Alexandru Turcin, ex-chairman of the Scornicesti Producer Cooperative Farm, and Elena Barbulescu, ex-general school inspector for Olt County, the late dictator's sister, was resumed at the Olt County Court in Slatina.

The three are charged by the county prosecutor's office with embezzlement 1,749,574 lei (Dorel Bilan), abuse of office, embezzlement of 1,006,938 lei, and unauthorised possession of ammunition (Alexandru Turcin) and complicity to embezzlement for a total 922,502 lei (Elena Barbulescu).

In this second stage of the trial several of the prosecution's witnesses were heard.

The trial will be resumed on 8 August.

UDMR Statement on Hungarian-Language Tuition

AU2407174290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 24 Jul 90

["MDUR (Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, UDMR) Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jul (ROMPRES)—The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania held on July 20 and 21 looked into the situation of higher learning in the Hungarian and noticed that the Bolyai University could not succeed in resuming its activity, MDUR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, UDMR] shows in a statement sent to "ROMPRES."

All our actions which aim at revitalizing the Hungarian University encounter opposition and, though no decision-making body has stated it does not agree in principle to the functioning of such a higher learning institute, practice proves such a position. The current situation is not at all encouraging, the admission examination in the Hungarian has not been ensured yet in all higher learning institutes, the enrollment figures have not been announced yet, not even for the Babes-Bolyai University where theoretically there is the possibility of making up groups with tuition in the Hungarian and certain subjects can be taught in Hungarian.

We resolutely call on the competent state bodies, on the Ministry of Education and Science, the government and the parliament to endorse a resolution on the Bolyai University's functioning as soon as possible, the statement shows.

* Joint Action Advocated To 'Save Democracy'

90P20075A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 5 Jul 90 p 1

[Mihai Enescu article: "On Blocks"]

[Text] What hopes can the National Salvation Front government give us when, after only one-half year at the helm, the Romanian economy is on blocks? Not only the economy, but also the system of institutions, the morale of the people, and social relations. The latter are at the lowest level in the history of Romania, with no way out seen. Also, the multiparty system which started off in January is suffering very much. The evolution of the National Salvation Front party toward a single party and the toleration, in the best case, of satellites characterized by total obedience are more and more evident. Sociopolitical events, the disturbances from January on, have had an essential role, that of reducing the opposition to silence and even disbanding it. The situation of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party during this period is an example of what can happen to a political group which puts up a real opposition. The governing party has directed against this large opposition party, at present practically the only one which is providing any political opposition in Romania, a wave of violence, slanders, assassinations, and outrageous lies.

Under these conditions of dictatorship and continuing violence and of abuse of power, opposition activity becomes extremely difficult, almost impossible, involving great danger. The governing power of the National Salvation Front believes, on the basis of old communist behavior, that anyone who is against it is a betrayer of the country and an enemy of the people and it acts accordingly, unleashing the class struggle and installing the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are political issues which have a special echo in the other domains of social life and which signify great danger for Romanian democracy, for the freedom and dignity of each Romanian citizen, which were achieved with such difficulty in December. Thus, we are making an appeal for an increase in the unity of all democratic groups in the country, understanding that only together will they be a strong opposition which can check abusive governmental power and save democracy. In light of the especially serious situation, we believe that such a union of forces is an urgent national need.

Undoubtedly, however, the most questions are raised by the administration of the national economy, the disastrous state of production, productivity, production discipline, contractual relations, the supplying of raw materials and other materials, technology and design, which are much below the results in December 1989. Probably there will have to be considerable efforts to bring the Romanian economy up to the level of that date.

Will the National Salvation Front succeed in this key domain? We are asking this question not without a logical basis. What has the National Salvation Front succeeded in doing in 6 months of governing? Nothing. In the enterprises, managerial disorientation is in control. There is a lack of technologies, a lack of spare parts. There is a lack of minimum organization and also there is a lack of a minimum correlation of production, at the level of the economic branch. All these are due, primarily, to the continued maintaining of excessive centralization and bureaucratism in the economy. The level of investments is very low, banking and financial activity is at an impasse and services, despite all the facilities created (but hindered by the same repressive bureaucratism) are just standing still. As a result, unemployment is on the rise and so is inflation and there is a lack of consumer goods. The stores are emptier and emptier, the supply of goods is becoming smaller as the money supply on the market is increasing. The National Salvation Front has managed the economy with political methods and it seems that this bankrupt style of economic administration will be continued although there is talk about including some technicians in the new ministerial team. We believe that it is absolutely necessary to stop utilizing the artificial economic laws of socialism. Economic activity should be carried out in a decentralized manner, on the basis of principles of the market economy and of supply and demand. Will the National Salvation Front government be able to stop this rapid fall of the Romanian economy? The National Salvation Front's program and the ideology of this political formation shows few possibilities and strategies for moving into a comprehensive market economy, the only thing which can bring the desired material well-being to the Romanian people. But not only do the program and ideology of the National Salvation Front give few signs of success, but the same holds true for the practices and behavior up to now in regard to economic affairs—as we pointed out earlier—based on tactical, populist measures, for electoral purposes or for prestige. Whoever is permitting such a thing in an economy which is already on the ground does not have very much moral credibility or many chances for success. Of course, it is primarily ideological deficiency which is at fault. Let us have hope, however.

* Call for 'Credible Opposition' Rejected

90P20075B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jul 90 p 1

[Andrei Ionescu article]

[Text] The crisis which we are experiencing is very profound and it affects all sectors of our existence, from the economy to intellectual life. The mediator in the sphere of power, the president of the country, mentioned this recently when, congratulating the new government he insisted on calling attention to the difficulty of his mission. It is believed that the radical changes in social structures, relationships and mentalities, which he proposes to achieve in a relatively short period of time could lead to transition "shock" and might would even produce "blockage" which is certainly not desired by anyone.

If the government is afraid that blockages might be produced, then the problem of credibility should be re-examined; this is a two-fold problem—that of the government and that of the opposition. The credibility of the opposition cannot be separated from the credibility of the governmcnt. According to the mentality in our country (which we all want to change), and I am not referring only to the experience of the totalitarian communist regime, which proclaims itself infallible, but I am also referring to a much older fear of criticizing the government (no drunken citizen goes against the government, no matter how intoxicated he might be), it is believed that the master never makes a mistake or rather, one should not say that the master is wrong because the hand of power is heavy and is not forgiving. Therefore, there is less talk about the credibility of the government; instead, the credibility of the opposition is up for discussion. We know that attack is sometimes the best defense.

It is true that the government affirmed the need for social criticism and a "credible opposition," capable of ensuring the establishment of a democratic climate, but this affirmation was made from the old perspective (which today we propose to transcend) of confidence in the role of criticism and self-criticism to help us to keep from becoming drunk with our successes, confidence that we know where it has taken us, with a chance that a "credible" opposition will receive high appreciation from the master, if it proves that it is "good." But the violence in the middle of June only intimidated this opposition even more, demanding that it be "constructive" so that it would be credible in the view of the government.

If we really want to keep from producing blockages then we must understand that the radical change of mentalities, without which it is impossible to carry out the program of reforms initiated by the government, involves a reconsidering of the status of the opposition. Such a necessary change of mentalities is our business, everyone's business, the business of the government and the opposition alike. In addition, one can say that this radical renewal and the renewal government itself ("for new times, new men") should be in opposition to the old mentalities. In this new context, the "constructive" limited role given to the opposition, up until now, by a magnanimous gesture of the government, as a priceless favor, appears much too modest. Because, according to the old mentality which we are trying to get rid of, every

instance of "disobedience" on the part of the opposition appears to many of us to be a criminal lack of gratitude when, in reality, the crime—as it is beginning to be seen more and more clearly—consists of the perpetuation of the confusion between a freely assumed obligation and a favor begged for and obtained with humility. The dignity of a responsible opposition ensures the dignity of the government, protecting it from arbitrariness and tyranny.

As a result, in the present period, one of radical change of mentalities, it is no longer a case of calling attention to the fact that the opposition must be "constructive." In our country, now, the opposition can only be constructive. This time, all of us feel the need to assume responsibility for an unavoidably constructive opposition, which attempts to be the creator of a plan for a dignified collective and individual life. Now, when the material and spiritual recovery of the country is at stake, when we are trying to invent a new mode of political thought, opposition is becoming a matter of high responsibility in regard to the problems of collective life, not a simple and minor problem of "obedience."

This is why, today, the opposition, not the "obedient" opposition "with a desire to be under a master." But an opposition which is radical compared to the recent past, a broad and pluralistic opposition is a deeply constructive factor and only the inertia of maintaining bureaucratic structures and mentalities of a totalitarian type can be destructive. This inertia only delays the curing of the social organism. Today the opposition is credible because it guarantees a break with the totalitarian past, involving itself in the difficult, clear and tenacious struggle against inertia.

* Suggested Changes in Government Program

90BA0230C Bucharest AZI in Romanian
10 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[University professor Dr. Stefan Ispas article: "Suggestions to the Government Program"]

[Text] Complex and difficult, but also optimistic, the government's Declaration must be understood, supported, and accepted because it constitutes the beginning of a new orientation and changes in the Romanian society and all its structures.

I would venture to say that the objectives of the Declaration are beginning to be implemented in our country in a climate characterized by "reserved optimism" and "tense calm." The optimism is due to the fact that the new path opened up to us by the Revolution of December 1989 is irreversible, but reserved, because both the available data, ourmaterial and financial resources, and our concrete options can not yet be known and established exactly, and therefore a certain caution is necessary.

The calm is based on the 20 May elections, when the people legitimized the leadership of the Romanian democratic state through their representatives in Parliament; but tense, because there are still dissatisfied, manipulated, or malevolent forces—albeit few—with which we must pursue a peaceful and comprehensive, but vigilant and resolute dialogue.

The suggestions I want to make are personal views based on lengthy professional and life experience and on a desire to contribute to the great process of our socioeconomic change. These are the subjects on which I want to touch:

1. I believe that the issue of science, in which new elements are born, experimented, and applied in all the areas and which is the promoter of progress, is insufficiently represented in the Declaration and should be expanded by additional measures and basic specifications. A Ministry of Culture was established immediately after the Revolution, which was good, but six months have passed since then and science seems to have been officially "forgotten." No body was established to urgently and immediately take over the functions of the former CNST [National Council for Science and Technology] and to change the organization, scope, and reorientation of scientific and technological activities, as if people did not realize that the march of science never stops.

Science has only now become associated with education. But we don't know how this symbiosis will function and develop, and how it will serve the industry and society. Personally speaking, I think that we need a special body in charge of science, all the more so since we state and to a great extent we indeed put science—as it is vital to do—at the basis of all our actions.

There are several essential elements for the development of science: cadres, material resources, and goals, but great discrimination is required to know how much weight to put on each, as well as modern resources, organization, and leadership. Science does not put up with impostors or orders; it chases away quasi-qualified people, and passes everything through the test of its rigorous laws. In science success depends primarily on people, on their training, orientation, and professionalism.

A degree serves to confirm a profession; a doctoral degree confirms a specialization or a more profound specialization, and both give the bearer an official scientific authority. A professional—and real leaps in science are achieved only by professionals—is a specialist who, aside from the above degrees, also has the experience that gives him authentic scientific authority. Thus, caution is required! As the wise reflection of the Roman scholar observed, "If youth had the knowledge, and if old age had the strength!"

2. In connection with scientific research—an endeavor pursued by all the countries interested in speeding up their development—Grigore Mosil said: "In the future—

and this future is already present (our note)—I, you, and he will work in research, and the enterprises will become thinkers rather than producers."

We all put our hopes in and will support to the best of our abilities the implementation of the four radical measures presented in the government's Declaration. This is all the more necessary since any stagnation in the areas of science and research will deepen our backwardness regarding the modernization of industry and improving the quality of life, and will exacerbate and worsen the paradox that we have talents, we have qualified and highly qualified cadres, but the technical level and productivity are low, and so are quality and competitiveness. If the intellectual and creative talents of the Romanian people are evident—something that is demonstrated by very many known and recognized national and international representatives—but the situation is not satisfactory, then the reason was the poor organization and management of the utilization of this invaluable resource, which is the Romanian intelligence. We must get organized, must establish a competent leadership system, and must select the basic, flexible, and perfectible elements that we want to incorporate in a scenario for the future in keeping with our scientific and social dynamics and with the substantial changes imposed and induced—without our approval—by the contemporary scientific-technical revolution.

Also, the Declaration did not specify the place and role of the Romanian Academy and the specialized academies, and their coordinated relations of cooperation and methodology with the educational system (which now has tasks in the area of science) and with institutes active in the same area and branch. Although we hope for and need initiative in this vast area of scientific-technical creativity, these relations must nevertheless be clearly outlined in order to channel the now released creative efforts and potential, rapidly improve and modernize our material resources, eliminate harmful duplication—discoveries and inventions already "discovered and invented"—and give the country, that is still providing and will continue to provide the material support for research, achievements apt to reduce gaps, capitalize on Romanian intelligence, enhance Romania's prestige, and raise the people's living standard to the level of contemporary civilization.

In the present conditions it is not at all clear who is coordinating the research. The Romanian Academy? The Ministry of Education? Because, in spite of all our desire and aspirations for decentralization, science, science on a big scale, is not now developing on its own accord! Discoveries no longer happen by chance and are not the work of dilettantes.

Who guides all these things? Undoubtedly the most competent scientists, but within the framework of a forum of lofty scientific and social responsibility, answerable either to the government, the Parliament, or the president. This is necessary especially in close connection with the running of a market economy and the process of privatization, which stand the greatest chances of success only if science is utilized in all its applications.

3. In view of the release of creative forces which have enormously encouraged initiative—see the many apolitical professional associations, private companies, etc.—the new government has a chance, and the obligation we think, to attract and utilize certain experts in the process of radical transformation of the country's economy and the people's life, by establishing teams of advisers and consultants who should give their informed opinion on all of the country's major problems. More specifically, I am referring to two large and powerful associations:

—AGIR, the General Association of Romanian Engineers, and

—AGER, the General Association of Romanian Economists.

As one of the members of AGIR's leadership, I heard at the most recent congress (6-7 June 1990) informed speeches by academicians, professors, managers of institutes and enterprises, researchers, designers, heads of production departments and workshops, and heads of laboratories and pilot centers, all of them engineers. Also, from my lengthy professional carrier and permanent contact with specialized literature, I am familiar with the work of our valuable economists, equally competent and equally willing, like the engineers, to help with the socioeconomic transformation of the country.

I asked myself: "how much, how well, how usefully, and how efficiently are their intelligence, training, and experience utilized, and how appropriately is the noble work of these extremely willing elite citizens of the country rewarded and encouraged?" The time has come to allow them to completely fulfill themselves.

I make the same suggestion to the Parliament, the deputies and senators whom the people expect to draft and pass laws on our economic, social, and moral development, by taking into consideration all our national resources, beginning with the human resources.

4. The Declaration did not deal sufficiently with the issues of national defense, the army, and the police, all of which have their well established place in modern states and a well determined role for the stability, independence, and sovereignty of a country.

We don't need to go into any detailed study of the painful history of our country; we don't need to theorize on the importance of these subsystems for the internal and external functions of a modern state; consequently, I will content myself with suggesting that the government go back to providing the necessary details, more so since many of the recent experiences of our people are fresh in the memories of many of us, and we have no right to ignore one of the vital issues of a country.

* Conflict With National-Liberal Party Viewed

90BA0230B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Dinu Patriciu by Sorin Rosca-Stanescu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rosca-Stanescu] Mr. Dinu Patriciu, in the past few days the surprises have succeeded each other in the National Liberal Party [NLP] with stunning speed. Today I am not as certain as I was yesterday that there will be no split. Perhaps we could together clarify the reason for the conflict.

[Patriciu] Internal conflicts inside political parties are generally attributed to generation gaps. In our case this is certainly not true. This is a conflict between two different mentalities concerning political practice. The first looks upon politics as an art, practiced by an elite and based on the logic of interpersonal relations, whose final consequence is narrow politicking. This is the mentality that led to Romania's political disaster in the period between the two world wars. The second is anchored in what politics must be today: a coherent message, based on psychosocial analyses, pragmatism, and competence both in substance and in presentation. These two mentalities are not only structurally different, they also led to different perceptions of the actual realities specific of the Romanian society. From the very beginning of its existence, there has been in the NLP, which was reborn in January, a latent internal tension created by these two mentalities, which cannot be attributed only to differences of age. There are too many old people young in spirit... This tension was reflected in the inconsistent message projected to the public, a message marked by serious mistakes, during the electoral campaign. Some of the party leadership was incapable of deepening its contact with the objective reality—along this line we can cite the threat of boycotting the elections issued a few days before election day, or the famous television clip, "Chase Out the Wolves," which were decidedly rash actions and offputting to the electorate. Then there was the position, partly vindictive and resentful, and partly expressed in terms of numbers and unjustified estimates—like "hundreds of thousands of people responsible for the the country's catastrophe"—toward the former Romanian communist party members, which also caused us a substantial loss of popularity. These grievous mistakes with external effects were doubled by a nondemocratic and authoritarian leadership internally, monopolized by a small group, which fostered intolerance and mistrust. These things alienated many intellectuals from the party, especially cultural and scientific personalities, who could have brought us credibility and prestige, since obviously much of the intelligentsia was at our side. Had our political line been determined by the concepts of the new pragmatic liberalism characteristic of similar political movements (which in the past two decades helped the industrialized countries toward a new level of prosperity), it would have been much easier for us to overcome the obstacles in our way.

[Rosca-Stanescu] The NLP leadership decided to release several members from the party, four of whom belonged to the executive secretariat, you being one of them. What is the position of the initiative group about this?

[Patriciu] I want to begin by saying that we do not recognize this step, which is more of a gut reaction than a political decision. In point of fact, one of the reasons that our initiative group does not want the party to split, but wants to reform it by calling a special, democratic conference to discuss its future, is that its anachronistic statute was not put up for discussion, thus leaving an opening for abusive measures uncontrolled by the great mass of the members.

[Rosca-Stanescu] So you want to call a special party conference. What do you hope to achieve?

[Patriciu] As I said, we want to reform the party on completely democratic bases, adopt a new statute, discuss a realistic political party adjusted to the current situation and based on the doctrine of the new liberalism, and elect a democratic leadership at all the levels, without prior proposals and maneuvers like the communists did, choosing from among the candidates who think themselves competent. We want to make the necessary organizational effort to call the conference without thereby contesting the present leadership, which is expected to participate in this forum with its own views, of which it will have to persuade us.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Of course, the time from December till now was much too short for the NLP to structure its organization and its platform-program in accordance with the requirements of a dynamic political life. What do you view as the weak points from this perspective, and what is to be done about them?

[Patriciu] From an organizational viewpoint, the local and central organizations of the party will have to be restructured so that they can become efficient mechanisms for taking and circulating decisions. The party must organize an information and communication system based on professionalism, rather than amateur volunteers. We must create the necessary mechanism through which the party can create the necessary links to all social categories. From the viewpoint of the political program, it must be reexamined in the light of views expressed in a free and democratic atmosphere, from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy, so that a program can be mapped out to reflect the debates.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Will the party, and implicitely the opposition, come out weaker or stronger from this conflict, which will certainly lead to inevitable changes both in concepts and in practical positions?

[Patriciu] The opposition will definitely come out strengthened. Debates are beneficial. We are endeavoring to break the confines of a conventional discipline and of rigid hierarchies in order to provoke debates, regardless of what may become of the personal fate of certain people, beginning with those involved in this

action, who don't care about their personal position. We will come out stronger, cleaner, free of politicking, and in any case, more mature as individuals and as a party.

* Visit With Student Leader Munteanu Detailed

90BA0230A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Paul Gheorghiu article: "A Diamond-Studded Night..."]

[Text] He who kills a symbol does not necessarily do so because he doesn't believe in it, but because he doesn't believe in anything else.

My thoughts go inadvertently back in time, exactly one month ago. A harsh image of the University balcony haunts my memory. Hanging on to the stone parapet, several men dressed in black, with blackened faces, wearing black helmets and black rubber boots, are waving a soiled and blackened Romanian flag. A black boot is moving back and forth in the void above the balcony—a small gesture of a conqueror, of a pagan desecrating the house of a God he doesn't understand.

Then I see in my mind's eye evenings filled with torches and voices. I see bright faces lit up by reborn hope turned toward that balcony as toward the altar of a newly regained religion, waiting for the soothing words of Freedom. Yes, Freedom was the new religion to which they were coming to worship there. Many had to pay for that and many more may still have to pay from now on.

From there, from that balcony, Marian Munteanu talked to those faces just to remind them each time what was uniting them there and perhaps for eternity: "We are not here to fight against a certain person or political group, but against a system. We are here not to disrupt public order, but to reestablish it." Also from that balcony Marian Munteanu kept calling to all those who believed in the true meaning of the word "Freedom" to join in, regardless of their political affiliation, nationality, or religious faith. From the same balcony, Marian Munteanu repeatedly urged nonviolence, calm, and clear thinking, and that order of the day was observed as long as the students remained in that square.

Why were those people coming there, those thousands of Romanians not truly representative for the mass of silence surrounding them? Because after 45 years of lies and fists crammed down mouths and souls, somewhere in the heart of Romania, in a public square that had become sacred and was remaining so, people could communicate most freely the most intimate thoughts of each one of the persons there without any fear. The fact that in that square people could express themselves freely, not without mistakes but free of the terror of having their words killed, frightened some people and angered others; it sparked poisonous hatred in the stony hearts of some people, and those who feared going up to the University hid their cowardice and powerlessness behind vehement abuse of a symbol, a symbol that had once again brought Romania back to the heart of Europe. But one day black men came and the heart of Europe left us for what may be a long time. Nothing is as base as condemning and destroying what one cannot understand.

I visited Marin Munteanu at the Emergency Hospital on the night before he was arrested. He was fairly calm, although he knew what was coming. Someone had told him that he was to be arrested and sent to Jilava. I knew that, too, but there was nothing I could do.

Today it is easy to deduce who wanted Marian Munteanu where he is now, and who were the people who worked so zealously to discredit the University Square. On the one hand there are those specifically targeted by the demonstrators, and on the other those who were never able to raise their voices against communism and who, moreover, served it with vile ardor. The same hypocritical ardor with which they now pose as the most determined defenders of democracy...

And now, a small surprise for you. Every newspaper is dutybound to bring some surprise, even a small one, in its pages. In the March issue of ASTRA we carried an item written at the end of February, which contained, among other things, the following "aberration:" "Gentlemen, this is only a simple but justifiable supposition, but we may expect the next appeal to the Jiu Valley miners to sound something like this: 'Come, miners! Communism (democracy?) is in danger, and so are the rights we gave you. Come! We are being attacked by a band of Iron Guardists!'" Whether you are shocked or not, you should know that this was written approximately five months ago. And the supposition was justified by the fact that those who had out of the blue brought up the word "Iron Guardist" in political conversation had done so for the sole purpose of providing a certain continuity and logic for the future. A sad and slanderous logic. Anyway, let us not forget that no one described the students of Prague, the Bulgarian students, or the students in front of the Lomonosov University as "Iron Guardists" or "fascists." We, however, did. And those young people will never forget that none other but the people for whom they had fought in December and in the spring came to slaughter them to the applause of those who did not understand, do not understand, and will never understand anything about what was beautiful and genuine in the University Square.

A few nights ago I went back to the square. The balcony was in darkness. The boot above the parapet had disappeared, had probably been sent back to some garrison together with the other effects of the "black fury." Around me, in the air and seeping down the University walls, I could hear those words written somewhere by Arghezi: "It is a diamond-studded night, a secret requiem for the fallen, for youth who listened to tales of white fairies, for youth killed in the midsts of daydreaming."

*** 'Tragedy' of Continuing Emigration Described**

90BA0229B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Marin Bucur article]

[Text] After only a few months of uneventfulness and hopes when Romanian exiles were returning with undescribable enthusiasm, taking the first available plane or train just to see the reborn country and to offer their talents, skills, and love to new Romania, we are now confronted by a frightening phenomenon, which is all the more terrible after the anti-intellectual and antistudent program of 14-15 June in Bucharest: The young are once again leaving the country! No one is saying a word. Neither the media, tarnished by manipulated truth and information—which makes it understandable on the part of this intractable partner in fate of the authorities—nor the students in their Gaudeamus-type broadcasts! The young people, horrified by the consequences of persecution, escaped from the jails of Magurele and Jilava, threatened, hounded, knowing that they have been photographed and filmed, are escaping by the dozens and the hundreds, wherever their steps take them, just to save themselves. Students and young intellectuals left the country and continue to leave, while the Parliament carries on unending discussions about pay and bonuses for the ladies and gentlemen arisen thanks to a fraud of conscience, not to mention the other, more practical fraud of the elections. The hemorrhage of Romanian human and intellectual assets that had become famous throughout the world under the communist dictatorship, had good reasons. An unequaled despotism! A satanical terror! No prospects, other than the "bright" prospect of the comrade's "thinking!" Young and old, separated couples, gypsies, and even blind people were asking for asylum abroad. Even agents, officers, and securitate members, like Ceausescu's right hand, tossed away their party cards, gave up exceptionally good material situations, and chose to ask asylum from those on whom they had spied. After January 1990 did anyone find consolation in the thought that there was a silver lining to every cloud!? In other words, had there not been for the tyrannical regime in Romania, we would not today have had a Romanian diaspora! A rather dear price paid by miserable Romanians in tears, blood left on barbed wire at the border, drowned in the Danube, shot without warning, tortured, and torn apart by German shepherds when they were caught by securitate border guards at the frontier with our western neighbors! The Romanian trek to the West was a genuine mass movement to rescue something of our ethnic values: writers, musicians, engineers, mathematicians, physicians, professors, and economists. Alone in Paris we could have opened a second Union of Writers in parallel to the official one in Bucharest. And the doctors! Thousands of them only in Munich and its surroundings. Colonies of national intelligence and genius chased away by the lack of freedom and by a barbarian Asian dictatorship. Year after year the same leitmotif was heard in factories, laboratories, hospitals, universities, orchestras, and athletic teams: "so and so also stayed in..." "left," or "is leaving," "has applied to leave," "has been bought out by family," etc. Artistic directors departing, singers asking for asylum, most of them young. The country was getting more impoverished than the economy. The problem was life-threatening, because an economy may be restored within a foreseeable length of time, while a dismembered and thinned out culture and spiritual life continues to suffer from pernicious anemia for a long time and with profound sequels.

The December revolution seemed to have ended the Romanian exile. It was even pathetically declared that the Romanian emigration has ended its historic mission. From now on it was the Romanian diaspora! What a beautiful dream and what utopia! After a couple of months of optimism, when the world seemed to open up to us only as a target for tourism or as a providential partner in rescuing and rebuilding the country, the Romanian hemorrhage has flared up again. People are once again leaving, escaping, staying abroad. In Budapest, the authorities are as worried as before December 1989 about the growing number of Romanians asking for political asylum, most of them apparently both young and educated. I hear that there is a genuine exodus at Western embassies and that many young people who had been among the demonstrators in the University Square, scared to death by a return of the terror, threatened, and pursued have either left or are about to leave the country. The domestic situation seems uncertain to them. The terror unleashed in Tirgu Mures and Bucharest, regular pogroms, brought us back to an alarming situation from the viewpoint of a civic society. The offensive of the reactionary forces of the old regime is capable of unexpected and illogical acts. The public is still reeling from the impact of class and ideology aggression and terrorism orchestrated by the authorities and tacitly encouraged by it. The new rulers have aided in the most aggressive revenge in our history against the intelligentsia and representatives of this people. Let us not forget that no regime and no political maniac has yet dared to shout and preach in the streets: "Death to the Intellectuals!" until January, under the National Salvation Front regime. Did the power "emanated" from the Revolution condemn such a savagely hyper-Nazi act? No. Did the leadership condemn the barbarian actions carried out at the University and the School of Architecture, and did it order the guilty heads arrested? No. It wholeheartedly congratulated the comrades and wished them good luck. On the contrary, it arrested the victims. Bolshevik justice feels quite at home. This justice is a past master at inventing evidence and procedural scenarios in which justice is on the side of the oppressors and the aggressors. Not the head of the terrorists is under arrest, but Marian Munteanu, the most peaceful and well-behaved of leaders, because he represented and continues to represent a symbol of democracy! Terrified by what is happening, the young are leaving us. We're being left with empty homes. They are leaving, uncertain of tomorrow, scared to spend another night at home, scared of going to work, and of walking in the streets. Young people, and

more incredibly, young people who fought on the barricades, are the new exiles of "workers democracy." In the past, the exiles were those felled by the authorities, the "reactionaries," and the conservatives! After the December Revolution, the new Romanian exile is made up of revolutionaries. Is the Romanian exile entering a new stage? Let us hope not, and that this is only a temporary crisis, God help us! Nevertheless, we must wake up and not allow that the thinking core of this nation be sapped again. We have a Parliament that cannot remain indifferent to what is happening in the country. Among the deputies there are many young intellectuals and many people with a responsible conscience, whatever their political color. They must bring up for discussion the tragic phenomenon of emigration and must request the executive branch to take an official stand, to guarantee human rights, and to take a frank attitude about terrorist actions.

We expect the deputies aware of this tragedy of uncertainty and fear to call upon the ministers of the interior and of justice to ensure that the country becomes persuaded that democracy is indeed an irreversible reality in Romania. Credibility is achieved only through facts.

The hemorrhage of Romanian youth, talent, and future can be stopped only through a treatment of honor and honesty, and civic and democratic legality and dignity.

For the time being, we are ashamed to hear that the Romanian language is once against heard on the roads of Europe, in refugee camps, and railway stations as one of the languages of the unhappy people escaping from and hounded not by fate, but by their own fatherland.

* 'Truth,' 'Realism' Needed for Nation's Recovery

90BA0229A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Jul 90 p 1

[Nicolae Macovei article: "Defusing Social Tensions"]

[Text] It is of course an exaggeration to maintain that communism is still blossoming and working in Romania at the level to which the two-headed dictatorship had raised it, now, after the December Revolution and at this time of detente and changes in Europe. But the thought that the structures and institutions of the communist state, and its at once triumphalist and false mentality and ideology still exist and are going strongly enough to prevent the rapid change of the Romanian society, this thought is nothing but an expression of profound pain and of the wounds and deviations to which a whole nation was subjected with special efficiency for the past 45 years. On the other hand, this thought expresses another fear, too, namely the fear that the present does not differ significantly enough from the communist past, endangering the implementation of the elements capable of quickly and efficiently providing a lifestyle based on strict observance of the basic human rights and freedoms, without which the future may be nothing but the past in new "make-up" and as harmful as the old communist regime. On the other hand this is also a matter of the capability of those in power to provide moral and practical guarantees for the profound changes that must take place in the Romanian society. In fact, no one doubts the need for such changes. The doubts, suspicion, and opposition concern those who are to implement these changes. In this situation, practicing a policy of "pacifying" and stressing unessential elements at the expense of truth and justice is nothing but an obvious and inept political maneuver patterned on a formula that in essence does not differ much from the well-known maneuvers of the old regime. After all, Romania's disaster was not caused only by the two dictators or by the very few persons who are currently on trial, but with the broad and generous cooperation of an army of men with "expertise" in various areas, who permitted—and even facilitated—the implementation of aberrant orders. The injustice is that, by being dubbed experts or familiar with various matters, the same people continue to manage the various socioeconomic areas. Even assuming that they are honest men and are energetically supporting the badly needed democratic changes indispensable for aligning our country with a market economy, odd situations, to say the least, may still appear. This is precisely the fact signaled and charged by the minority. What the minority requests is that we eliminate as far as possible paradoxical situations in which old practices, old communist mentalities, old methods, and old violations of individual rights and freedoms continue to exist in our socioecoomic life. Along this line, the majority should be profoundly grateful to the minority for contesting and for doing its best to highlight the dark face of this reality. Trust is not sufficient without a continuous and unforgiving verification of realities, just as alertness and warnings about various dangers, such as the persistence of communist mentalities and practices, are only an effort to heal and purge, and finally to facilitate everything that may make our lives better and more beautiful. A society of "consensus" and of contempt for dialogue and for contradictory views—viewed as hostile—unfortunately looks too much like the even keel and "quietude" of a society that has, we hope, disappeared forever. When will it be grasped that dialogue and respect for the truth and for everyone, for the majority and the minority, together form the essential condition for the efficient running of a democratic state? The cooperation between the majority and the minority is an obvious social lever that can serve the interests of the entire society, and especially of each individual. After all, no one needs official optimism as a state policy when it is well known that the deepest core of our nation has a much healthier and efficient understanding of the meaning of life than any official utopia. The main emphasis must be placed rather on realism and truth, on stimulating creativity and dialogue as a working method, on tolerance, and on mercilessly eliminating all the deviations that creeped into everyone's mentality and consciousness together with the communist ideology. A healthy future is inconceivable without a clear morality and pure faith in what is best and most valuable in man. The break with everything reminiscent of the perfidious and profoundly immoral practices of

the communist ideology, an unequivocal break with and a strict and explicit circumvention of such practices not only among the top leadership of the country, are now obligatory and essential to diffuse social tensions. In the final analysis, this is the main means of handling the balance between the majority and minority and, why not, the cooperation among all the social forces toward establishing a democratic, normal climate for living and working.

Markovic Tours Provinces, Views Local Issues

Economic Efficiency Aim of Tour

LD2407214990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1948 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic spoke this evening on a Skopje Radio-Television program about his tour of the republics and provinces, and about further steps in economic and political reform.

"We did not go as a forum touring the republics, but with our own program, to discuss through the power of argument, with tolerance and prepared to see on all relevant issues whether on the basis of this program we can constitute an economy which will be efficient and a state which will be law-governed," said Ante Markovic right at the beginning, referring to his visits to the republics and provinces.

Republics 'Ready To Stay' Together

LD2407215290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2016 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Each republic is ready to stay within Yugoslavia, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said this evening, speaking about his tour of republics and provinces and further steps in economic and social reform.

If we decide to build a joint society, then we need time. Should we halt the reforms because of the time, or should we enable the reforms to progress without obstructing life? We opted for the latter, Markovic stressed, because the package of economic measures is our greatest political event.

Gas Price Increases Lamented

LD2407215490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Croatia will lower the prices of gasoline and oil derivatives again provided that Serbia and Slovenia do the same, and with a guarantee from the Federal Executive Council [FEC] that it will take account of modernization of roads. The price increase was, however, an improper move on the part of the republican governments of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, not only vis-a-vis the FEC but also the oil industry, which the FEC has released from 20 percent of sales tax to improve the situation, Ante Markovic said in the Skopje Radio-Television (RTV) program.

This is monopolistic behavior, he continued. The consensus economy has created strong monopolies, and they are now struggling not only to maintain their positions, but also to seek changes in relations in the economy which suit them. As for the blockades, Markovic stressed, reality has overturned them, and the convertibility of our currency is opening up for us not only the doors to the world but also our internal borders. We have also already achieved, the FEC president said, all the conditions for the external convertibility of the dinar as well.

'Second Best' Harvest, High Prices

LD2407223590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2039 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—It is not right that in a year which is the second best as regards high yield, nonmarket prices of wheat are formed. There is no economic logic in having a good harvest and high prices, Prime Minister Ante Markovic stressed, speaking in Skopje Television program, among other things, about dissatisfaction on the part of Serbian and Vojvodina farmers with the purchase price of wheat.

We guarantee that we will purchase all agricultural market surplus. We will purchase around 300,000 tonnes of wheat at the market price. In a year which will yield a total of 6.2 million tonnes of wheat, we can also think about exporting it. However, Markovic said, our orientation is to combat monopolies by opening borders for the import of flour, above all to bring about the influence of the international market in our country.

Amendments 'Will Be Passed'

LD2407223890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2055 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—All the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, which effectively remove half the Constitution and introduce new political and economic relations, will be passed, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said this evening in a Skopje RTV [television-radio] program, speaking about further steps in the overall reform in the country.

In his opinion there exist, however, serious reservations and criticisms, and certain proposals which will not be accepted, above all those which relate to major changes in internal relations, such as the proposal to abolish the Federal Chamber or to elect on the one-man-one-vote principle.

What is most important, Markovic stressed, is that we have agreed that those amendments which are not accepted now should not be considered as not adopted but as open to further coordination, which will enable us to see at elections afterward whether our people are in favor of these and similar changes.

'Ownership Democracy' Necessary

LD2407224290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2113 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—It is not possible to change the structure of industry, the economy, and society without a change in ownership. Our aim is to introduce ownership democracy, which will also,

through various mechanisms, alter administrative relations. Without defined ownership there can be no capital market and no labor market.

This was how Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic explained the basis of the latest package of reforms of the federal government, which he described as crucial and said that everything which has been done so far was in order to arrive at this level and program of changes.

In order to embark upon real changes, Markovic stressed, there must be a change in ownership, whereby by its sale, monies will be acquired for new development to the value of 75 to 80 billion dollars.

FEC Has 'Real' Economic Program

LD2407225490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2117 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Until the structure of ownership is changed, we will have parties that will be formed on a national, religious, or some type of "anti" basis, which may also be anticommunist, said Ante Markovic in a special Skopje RTV program this evening.

All the new parties have no economic program because, in the final analysis, there does not exist an ownership structure which they could opt.

Only the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has a real economic program, and this enjoys support abroad to the extent that those who decide on secession will have to go into Europe with the FEC program.

Conflict With Kadijevic Denied

LD2507041290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Replying to the questions of viewers throughout Yugoslavia, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic rejected the claim of certain newspapers that there exists a conflict with Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense.

Markovic replied laconically that Secretary Veljko Kadijevic is a member of the FEC and a part of the team that is implementing the said reform.

FEC 'Will Put Everything Right'

LD2507041890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2151 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—The changes that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] is advocating will put everything right, Ante Markovic said in reply to a viewer's question on interethnic relations and the euphoria and friction in Croatia as a result of the behavior of Seks and Raskovic.

These things are happening, in Markovic's view, because the structure of ownership has remained the same and the structures built on it have remained untouched. Hence, the parties, Markovic continued, are expressing themselves through national and other emotions, and even mythological manifestations.

Macedonian Rights, Talks With Lukanov

LD2507042890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2201 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Entry into Europe is not possible for countries which negate normal human rights. Raising the question of the right of our national minorities in neighboring countries, including the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and Greece, in principle raises the question of to what extent we respect the rights of other national minorities, said Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, replying to numerous questions from viewers on the stand of the Yugoslav government with regard to the realization of the rights of our national minorities in neighboring countries.

Talks with [Bulgarian Prime Minister] Lukanov in Nis excluded the existence of Greater Macedonian ambitions and noted the need for observance of the civil rights of the Macedonian minority. The problem with Greece is more serious, Markovic noted. We are seeking to hold talks on a whole range of issues, but the Greek side is insisting on talking only about transportation. A great deal of patience will be needed to gain expression of Macedonian national minority rights in these countries. Matters will be set right with democratic logic, the Yugoslav premier underscored.

Kosovo 'Major Social,' 'Political' Problem

LD2507043290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2203 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Kosovo is a major social, human, and political problem. I am an advocate of democratic dialogue and solutions to the Kosovo problem by democratic means, the Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said in a Skopje RTV program this evening, replying to a question from Redzep Redzepi of Gnjilane on "whether the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly is not leading us into civil war."

It is not good to adopt a declaration which can be seen as a demand for secesssion, just as it is not good to suspend an assembly. All government members are prepared to involve themselves to the maximum degree in resolving the Kosovo problem, until such a time when it is possible to define all relations in multiparty elections, Markovic replied.

'Crowds' of Kosovo Serbs Apply for Gun Licenses

AU2407164390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Jul 90 p 17

[Agim Muhaxheri report: "Gun Licenses Wanted!"]

[Text] Since January, gun licenses have been in great demand among Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Crowds form every day at the premises of communal courts in Kosovo, as people apply for certificates to show that they are "not under investigation," which, they say, are required by applicants for gun licenses.

This campaign only involves members of the Serbian and Montenegrins nationalities. People, including the authorities, are wondering what motives lie behind this trend.

This phenomenon is noticeable among all the communes of Kosovo. The highest authorities, in other words those at the federal level, are remaining silent as if nothing were happening, which makes us wonder whether they are not encouraging this "atmosphere."

In connection with this campaign, we talked yesterday to Nuhi Uka, president of the Pristina Communal Court, and the clerk of the court, Isak Shala. They said that the trend is quite evident at this court. We, they said, are responding to people's requests. We issue the certificates to which the applicants have a right, and of course note down in the required place that "this document" is necessary to obtain a gun license.

Every day, including yesterday, the refrain "Give me a form" can be heard at the desks of the Pristina Communal Court. The court's clerks and employees were hard at work issuing certificates for those wanting weapons. The authorities also told us yesterday about various features of how this skulduggery, which, it goes without saying, is highly extraordinary in modern times and shows that "something is cooking." However, whatever it is that is "cooking" is best known to those who have devised this scenario, who are pursuing an anti-Albanian policy, and who dream that "One day we will kill the Albanians."

Just imagine, the clerk of the court Isak Shala said. I was once asked: "Where are the weapons being distributed?" I replied that I did not know. Isak Shala later said that the number of applicants for this kind of certificate has been increasing in the last two weeks. Young and old are asking for them, including even the elderly, pensioners over sixty.

Every day, we issue an average of 50 certificates which state that they are provided "for gun licenses."

He said that only Serbs and Montenegrins from Pristina, Kosovo Polje, and surrounding villages are asking for certificates for gun licenses. He mentioned that even family groups of three or four are applying for them. For instance, the applicant may ask for certificates for himself, his mother and father, and another member of the family. There are even those who submit three applications "in their own name." For instance, we can mention the case of Stanimir Sima Jeftic (43) from Pristina, who wrote in the register that "the certificate is required for a gun license," and handed over three forms with the numbers 7125/90, 7126/90, and 7128/90.

The fact that people of all ages are asking for such certificates in shown by two forms, one filled in by Ivica Rajko Stolic (24), from Pristina (No. 7262/90), and another by Petar Zivko Srdjanovic (63) from Pristina (No. 7267/90). Both these certificates were issued on 20 July.

Even employees of working collectives are asking for such certificates. For instance, Isak Shala said, a worker at the Pristina Health Center asked for nine certificates for his workmates. Their names were Mileva Milorad Samardzic, Mladen Stojan Simic, Petar Mate Stolic, and Momir Ratko Ivanovic, all from Kosovo Polje, and Zlatoje Krsta Grigorijevic, Dragica Bratislav Doknic, and Bozidar Ljubomir Stojanovic, all from Pristina. We do not know the names of the other two who received certificates, but one of the forms bears the number 7206/90, and the certificate was issued on 19 July.

We looked for Milos Kovacevic, secretary to the Administrative Secretariat of the Pristina Security Centre, in order to find out how many gun licenses have been issued, but he was not at work yesterday.

What can we say about this phenomenon which trouble-makers have inspired for a definite purpose, except that the highest state authorities should speak out about it at once?

Morina Assesses Political Situation in Kosovo

AU2507094090 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 90 p 1

[Mladen Mirosavljevic report: "Morina Replies to Bogdanovic"]

[Text] Pristina—After the congress of unification held by the Socialist Party of Serbia, the League of Communists of Kosovo and the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo will continue to bear their old names and act according to the current organizational structure until September, when there will be a joint session at which a provincial organization of the Socialist Party of Serbia for Kosovo will be formed. This was stated last Saturday [21 July] during a news conference on the premises of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists. The news conference was held by Rahman Morina, president of the Provincial Committee, and Ljubomir Popovic, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists.

RILINDJA Is Being Discontinued?

Instead of talking about the activities of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the founding of the Socialist Party, as envisaged, much more was said about the situation in the Albanian language media which has been in a disarray since the introduction of the temporary measures. It was stated that RILINDJA is in a danger of completely disappearing.

Early for any Chances

Jagos Zelenovic, member of the Presidium, said that the documents for the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have already been prepared. He said that the documents envisage a "democratic socialist party" at the federal level, and that more information about this will be available this fall, after a public debate among the members. Answering the question of how the League of Communists itself assessed the situation in Kosovo and whether it stood any chances at the future elections, Rahman Morina said that it is too early to assess its chances. The number of members leaving the League of Communists of Kosovo is no greater than from related organizations in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Slovenia. The party has about 75,000 members. The future Socialist Party of Kosovo will probably have fewer Albanian members, but will eventually become a party of all peoples and nationalities.

They Were Not Listening to Us

Answering the question on what he thought about the statement by the republican secretary for internal affairs, Radmilo Bogdanovic, that he is partly responsible for the situation in the province because as the top official in the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists he had a crucial influence on the cadre policy at that time, Morina said: "Bogdanovic probably did not say this maliciously. He is my friend and comrade, we have been working together. I stand behind the people who I worked with in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, with the exception of few of them whom I noticed had gone to the other side. My message to Bogdanovic is to talk less and do more, to promise less than he has been doing up to now, and to achieve better results. We have warned the people in the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs about some cadres, but they did not listen to us. Therefore they themselves should bear the responsibility, because we did not appoint anybody without the consent of the comrades in the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs," Morina said.

Assembly To Debate Kosovo Assembly's Work

LD2407203190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Tomorrow the SFRY Assembly starts a debate on the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and its Executive Council. The SFRY Assembly Committee for Sociopolitical Relations has today concluded that the session to be held tomorrow should open a debate in connection with the adoption of a law on discontinuing the work of the Kosovo Assembly, and its Executive Council, by the Serbian Assembly. This conclusion was preceded by a five-hour discussion on a demand by 13 Albanian delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly who called for an urgent session of the chamber to be dedicated to this issue.

The FEC [Federal Executive Council], it was concluded, should present its stand on this problem to the Assembly's Federal Chamber. After today's at times polemic conflict of views on the Law of Serbia, on what preceded it and its consequences, a majority of delegates concluded that Serbian measures in Kosovo were necessary to secure Serbian constitutional and territorial integrity.

KDA To 'Oppose,' 'Resist' Serbian 'Repression'

AU2407172190 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Jul 90 p 5

[B. Haliti report: "Not Even the SFRY Assembly Is Legitimate Without the Kosovo Assembly"]

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is still very serious. Nevertheless, we are attempting, by political means and without violence, to oppose and resist the repression Serbia is carrying out against the Albanian people of Kosovo.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [KDA] began yesterday's regular news conference with this remark, and then continued with more of his own comments and those of members of the KDA Presidium.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that we demand that Serbia should revoke as soon as possible the law on the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and the Kosovo Executive Council. We also demand that the militia should be withdrawn as soon as possible and that Pristina Television, Pristina Radio, RILINDJA, and the Kosovo Writers Association should be allowed to resume their work as soon as possible. We demand, he said, that Ante Markovic should take immediate measures to support the Kosovo government, because not even his federal government is legitimate without this government. We consider that the SFRY Assembly has no legitimacy because of Serbia's suspension of the Kosovo Assembly, because if a single republican or provincial government is not functioning, the SFRY Assembly can still function. Such a provision even exists in the present SFRY Constitution, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said. He went on to support the Slovene Assembly's declaration on Kosovo, and said that this in fact represents the first response of a Yugoslav republic strongly condemning Serbia's unconstitutional act in suspending the Kosovo Assembly. Our demand, he then said, is that the Kosovo Assembly and the Kosovo Executive Council should continue to function until free elections are held in Kosovo. We demand free elections in Kosovo, because we will not accept the elections covering the entire territory of Serbia which Serbia itself has proposed.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova then said that we oppose the SFRY Presidency's agreement on the possible new regulation of Yugoslavia if the Albanian population of Kosovo and Kosovo itself play no part in the agreement, and we do not know whom the SFRY Presidency will talk to in Kosovo at a time when all the legal organs of the people here have been suspended.

We reject, he said, Serbia's protest to the European Parliament, just as we reject the threats of Radmilo Bogdanovic and others suggesting the criminal prosecution of the Albanian delegates to the Kosovo Assembly. Bogdanovic can involve himself in police matters, but not political affairs. We also demand that the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] and the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] should free their premises for other parties in Kosovo, because these organizations do not in practice exist any more following the merger of the LC and the SAWP in the Serbian Socialist Party.

As you see, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova concluded, I intentionally do not wish to comment on the JEDINSTVO articles concerning leaders of the Kosovo opposition and the alleged quarrels among them, since it is very clear that even the police are embarking on adventures in an attempt to break up the Kosovo Alternative. If the rule of law existed here as elsewhere in the word, people would pay dearly for such lies and media idiocy.

A Zagreb Radio journalist asked how Mr. Rugova viewed current events in Albania and their effect on the attitude of Serbia toward Kosovo. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova replied that it is also our demand that Albania should democratize as soon as possible. This democratization would be welcomed in Kosovo, because Kosovo too wants to be democratized as soon as possible, if Serbia and the federal government would permit it. As you know, Rugova said, Kosovo does not at present have any relations with Albania and the common border is still closed.

A Norwegian radio journalist asked Mr. Rugova what methods the militia had used to prevent the KDA's news conferences, and he replied that the militia had surrounded the premises of the Kosovo Writers Association, where the news conferences were held, and had barred entry to them. Some news conferences had been held in the open air and while walking along the street, and we are here today, he said, more or less illegally. We have no premises in Pristina, even though we are willing to pay for them. This shows that not even the laws of the market on which Mr. Markovic is so keen operate in Kosovo. There is only one kind of logic in Kosovo now, Rugova said, and that is police logic.

Asked by another journalist how many members the KDA has now, Rugova replied that the number has reached 700,000.

A VJESNIK journalist asked what was the KDA's version of free elections in Kosovo, when Serbia would certainly prevent them. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova replied that we have the right to our own provincial law on free elections and we will demand to the end that they will be held in Kosovo. Prof. Dr. Fehmi Agani said that if what Serbia has announced takes place, and the Serbian constitution is approved before free elections are held, there will be no point in asking for free elections, because the Serbian constitution will deny all rights to the Albanians and opposition parties in Serbia and Kosovo.

A foreign journalist asked how the standpoint of the Slovene Assembly, promising that they will not send their delegation to the SFRY Assembly if Serbia's measures against Kosovo are not lifted, will be reflected in Kosovo. Mr. Rugova said that this would help to further democratize Kosovo, and that the Slovenes were well within their rights, because under Yugoslavia's existing Constitution, the federal parliament cannot function without the presence of all the delegations of the republics and provinces, including that of the Kosovo Assembly, which Serbia suspended in an anticonstitutional manner.

In answer to a BORBA journalist who asked whether he was optimistic, in spite of everything that was happening in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, Mr. Rugova replied that he was a rational optimist, but explained that the solution of the situation will depend on the attitude of other republics to Kosovo, the stance of Europe, and also the attitude of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia.

At the end of yesterday's KDA news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova replied to a question on how he would comment on TANJUG's report that the European Parliament's resolution on Kosovo was allegedly approved in the middle of the night when the deputies were tired, and that supposedly only 50 deputies voted for it. Mr. Rugova said that the European Parliament is not the LC, and does not approve resolutions by raising hands and applauding. The European Parliament works in groups, and at a European, not a Balkan pace. It often continues working until morning. I would not consider TANJUG's statement as anything but a piece of media idiocy, unfairly raising a cloud of dust. It is fortunate, he said, that Serbia cannot suspend the European Parliament, because it would if it could.

Kosovo SAWP, LC Presidium Meet on SPS

LD2407150290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Preparations for recruiting members for the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Kosovo must begin immediately. It is very important that the activity to this end should be conducted by the most capable cadres. The struggle for every single member must be our common goal, task, and duty. It goes without saying that this struggle cannot be waged by those who are not for the SPS.

This is reported to have been agreed at today's joint session of the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee and the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference, which met to discuss the implementation of decisions adopted at the First SPS Congress. The SPS provincial and municipal conferences should be set up in Kosovo by the end of October. A committee also was set up today with the task of

preparing for the joint conference of the Kosovo LC and SAWP, which will mark the beginning of the SPS Provincial Conference, with Rahman Morina at its head.

Kosovo National Defense Secretary Reelected

AU2407151490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] At the Serbian Assembly session yesterday, Slobodan Bojic was reelected provincial secretary for national defense of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Colonel Bozidar Zlatanovic was appointed deputy provincial secretary for national defense of Kosovo, while Redzep Hodza, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, was elected commander of the Provincial Committee for Civil Defense of Kosovo. This post was previously held by Hejzer Hajzeraj.

Slovenia's Kucan Meets With Jovic in Ljubljana

Obstacles 'No Longer Exist'

AU2407191790 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Statement by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, following talks with Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in Ljubljana on 23 July—recorded]

[Text] The talks that we held today confirmed that there is no other way for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis except through political dialogue: tolerant, well-argued, and based on mutual trust. It is a great pity that such talks were not held earlier, or rather that political dialogues have not been held in Yugoslavia for almost two years.

Of course it would be unrealistic to expect that a single conversation may resolve all the questions. It is significant, however, that these talks showed that ideological, political, theoretical, and other obstacles no longer exist. It was only a year ago, or at least at the time when the amendments to the Slovene Constitution were adopted that these obstacles in essence threatened to destroy Yugoslavia as suggested by the talk about a state of emergency that was pushed at that time.

It has been shown that the key reason for this crisis is the present constitutional system, or rather the assumptions on which it is built. This cannot be corrected merely through formal changes to the existing Constitution. It is necessary in every republic to redefine the interest of what the content and the form of the future life in common should be.

Of course it will be necessary—and this is our agreement with the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia—to prepare specific elements of the future confederal position of the republics in the future Yugoslav community, so that the discussion could be specific in the second round of these talks, and would no longer move at the level of principle.

The talks have shown that some differences have unfortunately remained in the views and of course in the solutions that are to follow, especially in the field of relations with the Yugoslav People's Army, and the field of Territorial Defense, although we both were of the opinion that these problems would not be unresolvable with goodwill, and with an intensification of talks.

Constitutional Paths 'Exhausted'

AU2407205690 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] The central event of the day is the visit of Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Slovenia and his talks with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, other members of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, and other important representatives of our republic. Also participating in the talks were France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly; Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene government; Joze Mencinger, vice president of the Executive Council of Slovenia; and republican secretaries Janez Jansa and Lojze Janko. The talks were closed to the public, and a statement was published afterwards.

The Republican Committee for Information stresses in its statement that the possibilities offered by the 1974 Constitution have been exhausted, and even by amending and supplementing it, one cannot define the relations in Yugoslavia anew. Therefore it will be necessary to reach as soon as possible a new political agreement on what Yugoslavia will be like if it stays together, and at the same time to envisage the possibility that a republic may secede.

All the proposals in searching for a new accord are legal and legitimate, and all the opportunities are open. There was unanimity on this point in the talks today. The representatives of Slovenia were of the opinion that a new integration of Yugoslavia is possible, but on new foundations: on a confederal system in the joint state. If others do not agree with this, Slovenia will ensure a confederal status in Yugoslavia for itself. If this is not possible, it will have to decide for independence.

One should hurry with one's search for a new accord on Yugoslavia, but one cannot impose anything on any people or impede any people in the realization of their interests. The representatives of the Slovene side drew attention to the unnecessary quarrels that hamper a normal discussion.

They drew attention to the fact that the Yugoslav People's Army, which is unnecessarily preserving its political status, has an unfounded mistrust of Slovenia, of the

processes in our republic, and of the organs that represent our republic. The Army thus opposes the demands made by Slovenia that more Slovene men should serve the Army in their republic, and insufficiently informs the Slovene authorities. This is shown also by the implementation of the order on transferring the Territorial Defense weapons, by the persistence of the SFRY Presidency which, as the supreme commander, does not want to relieve the commander of Slovene Territorial Defense as proposed by the Presidency of Slovenia, as well as by a staff exercise based on the assumption that a Quisling authority has been set up in Slovenia.

Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed during the discussion that we will talk about Yugoslavia so that no people will order any other people around or force them to do something. (?As soon as possible) one should have talks and reach a new accord because the present situation is impossible. The state Presidency considers that all the changes must be reached in a constitutional and legal way, and not through unilateral declarations and decisions. As long as federal laws are valid, they must be respected, Jovic stressed. However, there are no obstacles to proposing changes or the abolition of those laws that do not suit some republics.

Regarding the Yugoslav Army, he said that the Army will also become depoliticized, but one should not push it into violating or not implementing the laws that are valid. Jovic also warned that to anticipate events or to impose one's solutions unilaterally would cause unnecessary conflicts in the country.

The statement says in conclusion that a new agreement on the future life, whether joint or separate, is the aim and the priority task of all in Yugoslavia.

Slovene Delegates Decide To Attend Chamber

LD2407205390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—The Slovene delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly will take part in the work of this chamber despite the recent recommendation of the republican Assembly that they should not do so in future. According to Branko Podobnik, press spokesman of the Slovene Assembly Executive Council, the republican government today postponed the adoption of stances on this question, and in the meantime delegates agreed with France Bucar, president of the republican Assembly, that they would continue going "to Belgrade" until further notice.

The government considers this a complex and very important issue, and that it is not good to adopt any decisions quickly, particularly since their session was not attended by Premier Alojz Peterle, who is visiting Austria. [passage omitted]

Peterle in Austria: SFRY 'Voluntary Community'

LD2407151290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Graz, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Lojze Peterle, prime minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, has set out that Yugoslavia is a voluntary community, founded on the sovereignty of nations, and is Slovenia's last possibility.

In a talk with reporters during a visit to Styria, Austria, Peterle specified that if Slovenia were for secession, which he said was its last option, it would have adopted such a legal act and not a declaration of sovereignty.

The delegation of Slovenia has held talks in Styria with highest economic and political representatives of that Austrian province. The purpose of the visit has been to discuss the expansion of the existing ties and economic and cultural cooperation. The two sides, as has been announced, plan to make joint investments in individual branches of the economy and to open new border crossings.

Macedonian Officials Discuss Serbian Border

AU2407171390 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 13 Jul 90 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Most Responsibly Toward All Open Questions"]

[Excerpts] The delegations of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia met in Belgrade on 5 July. The Macedonian delegation consisted of the following: Vladimir Mitkov, president of the Macedonian Presidency, Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Executive Council of Macedonia, Dragoljub Stavrev and Fahri Kaja, members of the Macedonian Presidency, and Dusan Peterski, president of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce. The Serbian delegation consisted of: Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, Miroslav Miskovic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, Aleksandar Bakocevic and Miroslav Djordjevic, members of the Serbian Presidency, and Mihajlo Milojevic, president of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce.

The talks were followed by a statement from which it is unfortunately difficult to establish what was discussed and which questions were controversial. Like last year, the shorthand notes taken during this meeting were not made available to the public despite the fact that the public and several political parties in Macedonia insisted on their release.

Our editorial board is currently in the position to present you only parts of the speech delivered by Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Macedonian Executive Council, but believes that it will be able in the course of next few days to obtain the shorthand notes of the

speeches by other participants in the meeting. This is why we are also appealing to the Serbian Presidency to inform the Macedonian public of the views and assessments of the Serbian representatives on the current political situation in the country and particularly on relations with the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. In this context, the speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency and the host of the meeting, who, as we were informed, made a number of general and specific proposals, would be of particularly interest.

Gligorie Gogovski devoted the majority of the first part of his speech to the current economic situation in the republic and the country in connection with the implementation of economic reforms. [passage omitted]

Burden on Relations

Unfortunately, despite a high degree of unanimity concerning a large number of questions important for the social and economic development of the country, our two republics have for some time been raising certain questions, often with completely different approaches and explanations, which is something that is adversely affecting and burdening our mutual relations. [passage omitted]

Recently, the public in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, as well as some delegates in the Assembly, have persistently been asking who the Prohor Pcinski Monastery belongs to. This is encroaching on all kinds of very sensitive questions concerning the territorial borders between our two republics.

I would like to inform you that in order to prepare answers to delegates' questions, the Executive Council is setting up a working group to examine archive and other documents. The group has already started its work. Some of the facts established so far show that one could also discuss the inappropriateness of the territorial delineation between the two republics. All this is based on the well-known historic facts concerning statehood and the territorial integrity of the Macedonian state, and on the fact that immediately after the war questions concerning territory were of secondary importance and were resolved with an evident dose of voluntarism. However, in addition to this, one could also mention numerous examples from the constitutional-legal point of view which support our course of action and territorial delineation. For instance, from August 1944 until November 1945 some centers, which are today part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (Kacanik, Presevo, Bujanovac, and Trgoviste), were Macedonian administrative centers and were administered by the Presidium of the ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia], which means that these territories were an integral part of federal Macedonia.

Territorial Disputes

Moreover, according to the documents, in the period 1946-1953, there were a number of disputes regarding the border between the two republics, as well as the Monastery. These disputes include the claim of the government of the People's Republic of Macedonia, immediately after the adoption of the 1946 Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946, on the Prohor Pcinski Monastery, the Djeneral Jankovic area with 11 villages, and the Sar factory; the dispute in 1948 about several villages in the Krivopalenacka region; the decisions of the Commission for Federal Control in Macedonia that the places around Djeneral Jankovic and the Sar factory be returned; the dispute between the Skopje area and the Nerodimski commune in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and so on. Obviously all these disputes have not been resolved in the spirit of Article 12 of the 1946 Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, which states that the borders between the people's republics cannot be altered without the consent of the respective republics, that is the consent of the federal Assembly. As known, similar solutions for resolving the territorial questions are also contained in the existing Constitution.

Obviously, these questions, because of their complexity and delicacy, cannot be left only to historians to solve. Therefore, we propose that the Executive Councils of the two republics set up a joint commission which would comprehensively and expertly study all documents and facts and propose solutions which would be in conformity with the Constitution. This would avoid all the possible speculation that exists in the two republics at the present time of pronounced national and even nationalist outbursts. [passage omitted]

Recently, we have been faced with frequent articles in the Serbian media, particularly in POLITIKA, which treat the situation and events in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia unreasonably, one could say maliciously, tendentiously, and negatively, something that undoubtedly adversely affects the entire relations and cooperation between the two republics. This is particularly evident in articles about the Feni enterprise, RSVR [Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs], MPC [Macedonian Orthodox Church], our opposition to celebrating 1 December, the Serbian memorials in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, lessons in Serbo-Croatian, the position of Serbs in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and the alleged change of their names. There is even considerable talk about the Serbian character of Macedonia. [passage omitted]

Finally, I propose that as regards all these questions concerning relations and cooperation between the two republics, which we are discussing here, we draft a joint report and clearly agree on further action, with specific obligations, responsibilities, and deadlines. This would have the practical aim of intensifying the work on resolving the questions that have been raised, and at the same time it would represent a document that would protect us from possible accusations of voluntarism and improvisations when it comes to the vital interests of our two republics and our two peoples.

After all I participated in three meetings held by the leaderships of our republics at which these outstanding issues were discussed. Their realization has been slow and has not produced the expected results. It has also had an unfavorable effect on relations and cooperation.

Croatian Party Forms 'Shadow Government'

LD2407134690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists - Party of Democratic Changes [CLC-PDC] formed its shadow government today. The 17-member government is headed by Ivica Racan, president of the Central Committee.

A decision to this effect was adopted at today's session of the CLC-PDC Central Committee, which also carried out a number of cadre changes in its leadership. Zdravko Tomac, Mato Crkvenac, and Boris Malada were elected vice presidents of the party. At the same time, they are members of the Central Committee Presidium. Dusan Plecas is the new secretary of the CLC-PDC Central Committee. [Passage indistinct] that the congress should be held in October.

'National Elements' in Socialist Party Viewed

AU2407174890 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 90 p 3

[Ivkica Bacic commentary: "The Emperor Has No Clothes After All"]

[Text] Nobody should be surprised by all the clumsiness, spiced with both naivete and unconcealed spite, and even occasional irregularity, that the Serbian ex-Communists publicly demonstrated at the first congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia. The former Yugoslav vanguard has simply specialized in just this kind of discipline over the last few years, so that on the glorious road to self-cessation they were not even hindered by the malicious comments that their fellow party members will be ruined by nothing else but television. The emperor therefore has no clothes after all, whether he is called a communist or socialist, and he has presented himself as the defender of ideological orthodoxy, as he did until yesterday, or the architect of socialism of Serbian colors, as he is doing from today.

It is obvious from the programmatic documents that this is in fact what he will be aspiring to, a socialism of Serbian colors. That the sequence of words should however be changed to Serbian socialism—and not for the sake of splitting linguistic hairs and even at the cost of a noun being completely lost—was the overwhelming demand of the majority of the 1,500 freshly-baked socialists who for one day and a whole night talked and talked about "Serbianism from Milos [member of Obrenovic dynasty] to Milosevic." Or who talked about "Serbs as a creative and Piedmont-type people" in contrast to the "Croats, or Ustashas, as the executors of Serbs"; about "Serbia as a state between cultured states" in contrast to "the lack of culture in the north west"; about "our Slobodan who has even put his family at the disposal of Serbia," in contrast to the "self-appointed metal workers and marshals who, with their Comintern brothers, sucked the blood of Serbs." Who talked about Serbia which will be "not only a wealthy, but also a fair state," in contrast to the "Yugoslav state that has been Titoized from the cradle to the grave and is to blame for the genocide of the Serbs"; about "Tudjman's black shirts who are constructing a new Independent Croatian State," about "Racan's clericalists and adherents to the ideas of Frank [Josip Frank, pre-World War I Croatian politician]," about "the White Guards and Ustashas who were recently victorious in Slovenia and Croatia"....all the way to the foreign currency stolen from Raskovic; about "the Socialist Party being where Serbs are."

So much a priori aversion to everything that is not Serbian—which has not even stopped at pure chauvinism in kindling the idea about the genocide of other peoples—so much anathemizing of everyone and everything that is outside the present Serbian borders or outside the borders of Serbia, and—as Miodrag Bulatovic (who, interestingly enough, today proudly wears the five-cornered star as an emblem of the new party, probably because it is framed by the Serbian tri-color, while in the past he has vociferously demanded that the hated "five-cornered star be trampled underfoot") succinctly said in his inspired speech—so much negative talk echoed around the hall of the Sava Center, which even went as far as pondering the need to redefine the concept of the left wing (because "Racanists, Kucanists, Suvarists, and Gosevists are also called the left wing"), that any reasonable person must justifiably ask themselves: Did the Serbian communists need to come together only to once again and more militantly repeat everything that they had discussed in the three years since "the new Serbia was resurrected?" Has the modern European left wing, which the Serbian socialists would like to be, been defined anywhere in the world according to a negative program and negative talk? Can a democratic party, which is how the Serbian socialists are presenting themselves, be recognized according to the hullabaloo over the state and nation?

The seriousness of this regrettable fact cannot even be diminished by the concluding speech by the president of the Serbian state and leader of the Serbian Socialists, Slobodan Milosevic, which deviated to a great extent from the previous day and night of brouhaha about Serbianism and Serbs. He avoided virtually any mention of nationalist socialism, presenting his party and its program as truly left-wing and democratic. Perhaps the fact that with such a speech he differed from the gathered socialists was less important than the fact that Milosevic is at variance with himself and the reality in Serbia, on which he is having a crucial influence. This is because, in Milosevic's Serbia the nation is the measure of all things, which means that a national program based on the Memorandum [leaked from the Serbian Academy of

Arts and Sciences] is being precisely implemented, which has escalated to the demand from Milosevic himself to redesign the republican borders, which means that Serbia will not have free multiparty elections so soon because this is not permitted by national interests, which means the continued survival of Milosevic's categorization of Serbian traitors and Serbian patriots, in which the traitors are all those who do not make the nation and the state absolutes and patriots are those who put the nation and state before democracy. This means that the converted communists continue to play the Kosovo card and that they are not in the least upset by the condemnation by the European Parliament at the violation of human rights in this province....

After all, a malicious person would say, it is easy for the Serbian authorities, whether they are called communist or socialist, if they have the support of the writer Miodrag Bulatovic, who does not conceal his elation at the "Serbian militia occupying Pristina Television." This is the right move by a law-governed state, he stated for the television cameras. On the same day that this patriotic statement was made, followers of the Chetnik movement marched through the streets of Belgrade for a few hours. The militia did not intervene.

Federal Party Committee Congratulates Milosevic

AU2407153790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 90 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Committee for the Renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congratulates Slobodan Milosevic"]

[Text] "We are convinced that the Socialist Party of Serbia will make a significant contribution to strengthening the socialist movement in Yugoslavia and this idea is being followed by the initiative of our committee for the creation of one Yugoslav political party and Yugoslav leftist alliance." This is stated in the telegram in which Miroslav Ivanovic, chairman of the Committee for Preparing the Congress of the Democratic and Programmatic Renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and his deputy Predrag Jereminov extend their personal congratulations and those of the committee to Slobodan Milosevic on his election as president of the Socialist Party of Serbia.

"We wish you, personally, and the main committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia every success in your work and fruitful results for the well-being of the people of Serbia and Yugoslavia as a whole," the telegram says.

Serbian Socialist Party Officials' Names Issued

AU2407145290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 90 pp 1, 5

[D. Redevic report: "The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia Elected"]

[Excerpts] At its first founding session in the Sava Center in Belgrade, which was presided over by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Main Committee [glavni odbor], the Main Committee elected, by secret ballot, three vice presidents: Academician Mihailo Markovic, Radmila Andjelkovic, and Bogdan Trifunovic.

Out of the two candidates for the post of the general secretary of the Main Committee, the committee elected Petar Skundric by secret ballot. Also by secret ballot, the committee elected 20 members of the Executive Committee [izvrsni odbor] whose work will be coordinated by the general secretary. [passage omitted]

The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia

Members of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia are: Dr. Zoran Arandjelovic, who received 80 votes; Sinisa Batalo (77); Mirjana Blagojevic (76); Zivorad Igic (77); Miroslav Markovic (82); Dr. Ratko Markovic (83); Academician Dr. Milos Macura (85); Dragoljub Mitic (6) [as published]; Rahman Morina (85); Miroslav Pavlovic (84); Ivan Radosavljevic (66); Tomica Raicevic (82); Tomislav Radovic (80); Dr. Rados Smiljkovic (80); Goran Trivan (78); Dr. Scepan Uscumlic (79); Dr. Halit Trnavci (79); Redzep Hodza (79); Nedeljko Sipovac (82); and Dr. Vladimir Stambuk (82).

Zoran Andjelkovic (49), Zvezdana Bursac (63), and Sonja Scepanovic (41) failed to be elected. [passage omitted]

Reform of Serbian State Organs, Bodies Planned

LD2407211190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—By a reform of state bodies in the Socialist Republic of Serbia we wish to form an independent and autonomous administration which will implement republican laws and regulations regardless of which party will be in power.

This was stated by the Serbian Assembly's Executive Council Vice President Dusan Mihailovic at a meeting today between members of a working group of the republican government for the reform of administration with representatives of the Belgrade City Assembly headed by president Milorad Unkovic.

Mihailovic stressed that the reform is expected to result in the expenditures of the state administration being lower by 30 percent, as well as a lower number of employees.

Montenegro SAWP Wants 'Coalition of the Left'

LD2407141190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Titograd, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Montenegro Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference Presidium drew up a

proposal of its declaration on the coalition of the left of this republic. The united political left of Montenegro should go to the multiparty parliamentary elections in the republic planned for the end of this year with a common electoral strategy and program. The Presidium called on all the political parties and other organizations whose interests identify with the program goals as outlined in the declaration to unite in a coalition of the left.

Government To 'Insist' on No Price Increases

LD2407204990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Budva, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic will categorically insist that the three Yugoslav republics lower the raised prices of oil and oil derivatives to the previous levels and is determined not to permit new price increases, as Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Franc Horvat set out here today in a talk with tourism representatives of the Republic of Montenegro.

The prices of oil and oil derivatives were on the average raised by 12 percent in the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia in the past twenty days or so without the approval of the Federal Government.

Horvat set out that the Federal Government would neither permit hikes in the prices of electricity, bread, flour, meat and other products.

Envoy Says Disarmament Negotiations 'Lagging'

LD2407204590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Geneva, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Multilateral negotiations on disarmament are significantly lagging with regard to the favourable political processes underway in the world, Yugoslav Ambassador Varko Kosin today assessed at a disarmament conference in Geneva.

The conference, Kosin [word indistinct] should actively take part in the development of all the mechanisms of security for the establishment of [word indistinct] international relations. The Yugoslav representative, Ambassador Kosin, pointed out that bilateral, regional and multilateral negotiations on eliminating dangers of fresh clashes not only have not been [word indistinct] out but complement each other. In this sense Kosin welcomed the novelty that at the Geneva conference the heads of delegations also take part in the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on disarmament.

The Yugoslav ambassador also welcomed the renewal of activities of the Geneva conference Committee for Banning Nuclear Testing.

With regard to chemical weapons, which have priority at the current multilateral negotiations, Kosin assessed that the conference achieved much less than expected, although there is a political consensus on the working out of a comprehensive convention on banning the use and eliminating chemical weapons. The impression is that the conference is "running around in a circle". At times, what had been agreed on is again being brought into question, Kosin pointed out.

The Yugoslav ambassador's speech had a wide response in the circles of the U.N. conference on disarmaent in Geneva, the observers of the conference noted.

Government To Launch Europe-Wide TV Program

LD2407135690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—On 15 September, the federal government will start broadcasting its own Yugoslav television program, which will function as a joint stock company with the Federal Executive Council holding a controlling packet of shares. Beginning with the fall of 1991, this program will be beamed via a satellite to all the countries in Europe. This is one of the Markovic government's six strategic measures designed to popularize economic and social reforms in Yugoslavia. This was said today by Darko Marin, a secretary in the Federal Executive Council Information Secretariat, at a press conference in the Tito Metallurgy Institute in Skopje.

In light of the present state of disintegration in the Yugoslav information media, the federal government also will launch a Yugoslav daily in all the languages of Yugoslavia's nations and in English, while the special role in informing Yugoslav and world public will be given to TANJUG, FILMSKE NOVOSTI, and MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA, which will be published in five foreign languages. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Students Do Not Want To Go to Pristina

AU2407131790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 90 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Sent Your Children There"]

[Text] Belgrade—Carrying banners with messages such as "We want Belgrade, not Pristina, student record books" and "Politicians, send your children to Pristina, not us," a group of several dozen secondary school graduates and their parents held a protest yesterday in front of the Serbian Assembly building.

They said that they represented the 497 school graduates who, despite passing entry examinations, did not manage to enroll in the Law Faculty in Belgrade.